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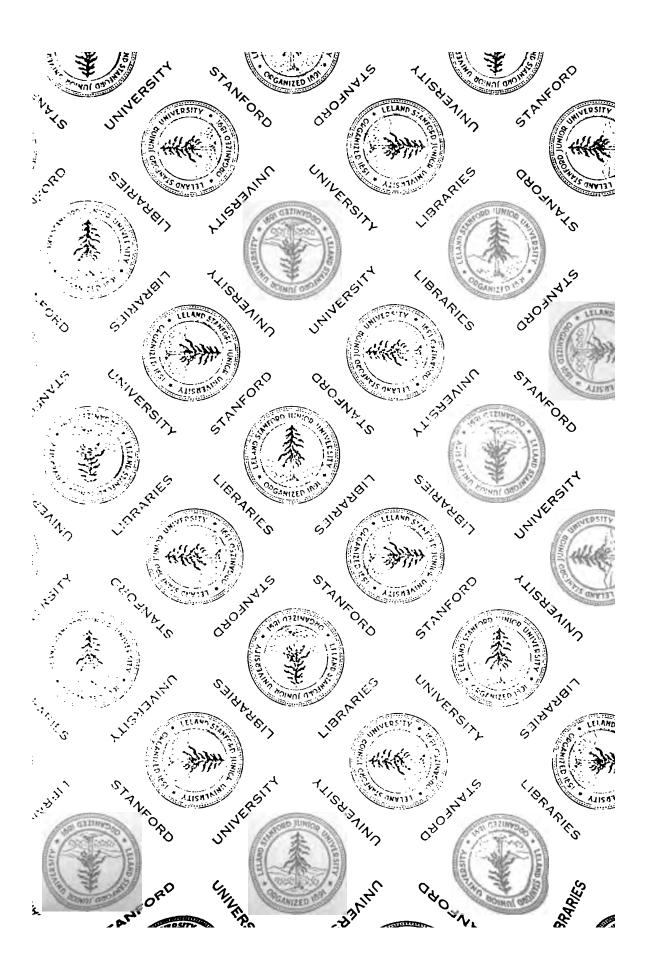
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

VOLUME XXVII, SECTION C, No. 1

HUGH JACKSON LAWLOR

LIBER ALBUS OF CHRIST CHURCH,
DUBLIN



DUBLIN

HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO., LTD.

LONDON: WILLIAMS & NORGATE

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

In the year 1902 it was resolved to number in consecutive order the Volumes of the PROCEEDINGS of the Academy, and consequently attention is requested to the following Table:—

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE ACADEMY

I.

A CALENDAR OF THE LIBER NIGER AND LIBER ALBUS OF CHRIST CHURCH, DUBLIN.

BY REV. H. J. LAWLOR, D.D.

Read June 10. Ordered for Publication July 22, 1907. Published January 15, 1908.

PREFACE.

THE records of the medieval Church of Ireland are scanty. The Diocese of Dublin, richer in this respect than others, possesses only the following:—The ancient volume known as Crede Mihi, which was edited by the late Sir J. T. Gilbert; the Register of Archbishop Alan and his Repertorium Viride or Nova Rotula, both of which are well deserving of similar treatment; the valuable collection of Christ Church Deeds, now in the Public Record Office, a calendar of which appeared in the Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Records; the Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, St. Thomas's Abbey, and the Priory of All Hallows, all of which have been edited by competent hands; the Register of St. Patrick's Cathedral, called Dignitas Decani, a calendar of which has been published in the Proceedings of the Academy; the Book of Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, edited by Dr. J. H. Todd; and the

The Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, ed. J. T. Gilbert, 1889 (Rolls series); istrum Prioratus Omnium Sanctorum juxta Dublin, ed. R. Butler, 1845 (Irish Archæological y). For the Chartulary of St. Mary's, see below p. 5.

A. PROC., VOL. XXVII., SECT. C.

two books of the same Church known as Liber Albus and Liber Niger. Of these last a Calendar is here printed which, it is hoped, may prove useful to students of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Ireland.

The Liber Albus of Christ Church is a volume of 73 leaves of vellum, measuring about 28 by 19 cent. It consists of nine gatherings, all of which are of eight leaves except the first, second, and fifth. The first has now five leaves; originally it had four. It contains the table of contents, and was obviously added after the work was completed. The second gathering has ten leaves. The fifth, which likewise has ten, had originally, like most of the others, eight, two having been inserted later. On the other hand, the third gathering, which has now eight leaves, had originally only six. The contents of the book are of the kind which one expects to find in such a record charters, leases, rentals, &c., together with a few wills, and inventories of the goods of the testators. According to a note on f. 57, it was compiled by Thomas Fyche, canon and sub-prior of the convent, who died 17th January, 1518. And though several of the documents which the book preserves are of a date considerably later than Fyche's death, there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the statement. For the articles are numbered in a contemporary hand; and the fact that no less than eighteen articles (Nos. 3, 15, 16, 34, 55, 67-79) are passed over in this numeration, and in the original table of contents, proves that they were added subsequently. In fact, the manuscript, as originally written, abounded in blank pages. And these have been utilized, to our advantage, by later scribes. The latest of the documents to which the old numbers are attached (No. 51) bears the date 8th November, 1504. Thus the compilation may with confidence be dated between 1505 and 1517. And this conclusion is confirmed by the character of the script.

The contemporary table of contents has been enlarged so as to include the later entries, the additions to it being in the hand of the well-known antiquary, Dr. John Lyon.

In the present Calendar the articles have been numbered continuously in Arabic figures, the older numbers being indicated by Roman figures.

The calendar does not include six leaves, four at the beginning and two at the end of the volume, which are filled with writing in an extremely difficult hand and with many contractions. These have been examined by Mr. M. J. M'Enery of the Public Record Office, Dublin, who has been so good as to supply the following note on their contents:—

"The first four and last two membranes of the *Liber Albus* have nothing umon with the rest of the book. The text of these six membranes consists

of disquisitions of a logical and metaphysical character: those on the last two membranes are mainly concerned with concrete and abstract ideas, and terms. They appear to be fragments of another treatise which have been bound up with the *Liber Albus* proper."

The Liber Niger of Christ Church is also a vellum book, the leaves of which are 234 in number and measure about 27.5 by 18 cent. Its contents for the most part differ in character from those of the companion volume. It is true that there are in it many copies of charters and similar documents; but these are in almost all cases obviously later additions, written in the margins and other spaces originally left vacant. The main contents are of another sort. We have such texts as the Secretum Secretorum, ascribed to Aristotle; the French poem, Imago Mundi; a History of our Lord, also in French; the legal tract called Fet a saver; Ecclesiastical Tables such as might more naturally be looked for in a service book or a martyrology, and a corpus of statutes and kindred documents. These various compositions, so diverse in subject, are written in different hands. And there is nothing in the structure of the Liber Niger to forbid the supposition which naturally occurs to one, that they had a separate existence before it came into being. This is, in fact, certain in one case. For on ff. 79-88, which contain a series of tables for ascertaining the dates of Easter and Septuagesima (Nos. 44-46), we find an older pagination contemporary with the text, which proves that these leaves once stood at the beginning of another volume. They form a complete gathering in our MS.

And with somewhat less confidence we may recognize elsewhere groups of leaves which formerly belonged to other volumes. Thus, ff. 34-65 form a group of four gatherings of eight. There are only two other gatherings of eight in the volume. On f. 34 begins a History of our Lord in French, which ends on f. 63. The remainder of f. 63 and the concluding leaves (ff. 64, 65), no doubt originally blank, are occupied with an account of an embassy to France in the year 1294, and copies of charters, the last of which is incomplete, breaking off at the end of f. 65. These facts point to the existence of a volume containing a Life of our Lord, followed by two vacant leaves, and possibly by at least one gathering of which the first page was also vacant.

Next comes a tract entitled "Summa que vocatur Fet a Saver," also in French (no. 37). It fills a gathering of eight (ff. 66-71, including two unnumbered leaves), and nearly half of the following gathering of six (ff. 72-77). It is followed immediately by a narrative of proceedings against the Templars, the first part of which is in the same hand as the preceding

(no. 38, ff. 74-76). The remaining articles, in later hands, evidently occupy pages originally left blank (nos. 39-41).

We now pass to a more complex group. It runs from f. 89 to f. 212, and consists of five gatherings of twelve, a gathering of six, three gatherings of twelve, two of six, three inserted leaves, and a gathering of six. Gatherings of twelve do not occur elsewhere. The principal contents of these leaves are as follows:—

- 1. The fourth book of the Sentences of Peter Lombard (no. 47).
- 2. Extracts from Lives of Saints (no. 54).
- 3. Statutes, &c. (nos. 57-62, 64-68).
- 4. A French poem (no. 69).
- 5. A legal tract (no. 70).
- 6. Chronicles (no. 71).
- 7. Statutes (nos. 78, 79).

These must have originally followed one another in a single volume, for all except the first and the last begin in the middle of gatherings, and the third and last are in the same hand. The volume had several blank pages (f. 202, f. 203, ff. 208-212), now filled with notes and scribblings. To it also probably belonged f. 78, which contains a fragment of a treatise entitled "Genesis" (no. 42).

A fragment of a lost book may also be recognized in ff. 227, 228 (nos. 136, 137), which formed part of a gathering of at least four leaves, two of which, and part of a third (f. 228), have been cut out.

But this tedious investigation need not be carried further. Its purpose has been to prove that the principal interest of the Liber Niger is of a different kind from that of the Liber Albus. The latter is valuable because it preserves documents which throw light on the history of the institution to which it belongs. The latter, setting aside its marginalia, is a collection of tracts, some of them of much importance, which nevertheless supply no direct knowledge of the affairs of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity. It is a congeries of books and fragments of books, bound together for no better reason than that their pages were of much the same size. But herein is its unique interest. It is the debris of the library of the convent. Like the betterknown martyrology of Christ Church, it helps us to form some conception of the subjects which occupied the thoughts of the brethren, of the literature which the more studious among them read. It is the solitary specimen which we possess of the contents of a medieval Irish monastic library. If we may judge from the character of the handwritings, most of the older portions of the volume were transcribed in the fourteenth century.

In the work of constructing a calendar of this book, much assistance has been derived from a table of contents written on the blank pages at the end of the volume by the elder Anthony Dopping during his brief tenure of the Bishopric of Kildare (1679-1681), and printed in the Second Report of the Irish Record Commission, supplement, p. 308.

It only remains to place on record the writer's gratitude for help so often and so kindly given by H. F. Berry, Esq., Litt. D., I.S.O., and M. J. M'Enery, Esq., in deciphering difficult passages, and by several friends in identifying obscure place-names.

WORKS FREQUENTLY REFERRED TO IN THE CALENDAR.

Chartae:

Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates, being transcripts of charters and privileges to cities, towns, abbeys, and other bodies corporate, 18 Henry II-18 Richard II (1171-1395), printed by the Irish Record Commission (1829-1830), 1889.

Chartularies:

Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, with the Register of its house at Dunbrody, and Annals of Ireland, ed. J. T. Gilbert (Rolls Series), 1884.

Christ Church Deeds:

Original deeds in the Public Record Office, Dublin. A Calendar appeared in the 20th, 23rd, 24th, and 27th Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Records of Ireland.

Crede Mihi:

"Crede Mihi," the most ancient register book of the Archbishops of Dublin before the Reformation, ed. J. T. Gilbert, Dublin, 1897. The references are to the folios of the original.

Dignitas Decani:

An early register of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. A Calendar was published in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxv., sect. C., no. 9, by the Very Rev. J. H. Bernard, Dean of St. Patrick's.

Irish Statutes:

Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of Parliament of Ireland. King John to Henry V. Ed. H. F. Berry, 1907.

Papal Letters:

Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters, ed. W. H. Bliss and others, 1893—

Rey. Alan.:

The Registrum Alani, or Black Book of Archbishop Alan, in the custody of the Archbishop of Dublin. For a Calendar by the late Professor G. T. Stokes see Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, xxiii. 303, xxvii. 164, 404.

The references are to the contemporary foliation, recorded in the margins of a transcript by the late Bishop Reeves (T.C.D. MS. 1061).

Statutes:

Statutes of the Realm (Record Commission), 1810-1828.

Theiner. Vetera Monumenta:

Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam illustrantia, ed. A. Theiner, Rome, 1864.

Todd, Obits:

The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin, ed. J. C. Crosthwaite and J. H. Todd (Irish Archæological Society), 1844.

CALENDAR OF LIBER ALBUS.

1. Chronological notes.

f. 1^v.

- (a) James le Botiler, Earl of Ormond, died on the Vigil of St. Bartholomew (23 August), 1452, and was buried in the monastery of the B. V. M., Dublin.
- (b) Thomas, Earl of Desmond (Desmonia), was beheaded at Drougheda by order of John, Earl of Worcester (Vigornia), deputy of George, Duke of Clarence, on the morrow of St. Valentine (15 February), 1468.
- (c) The said John, Earl of Worcester (Vigornia), landed at Howith, 9 October, 1467.
- (d) In later hand.—Gerald fith Geralde died in London, and was buried in the Church of Kildare, 13 February, 1586.

2. Table of contents.

f. 2.

3. Rental of Holy Trinity Cathedral, "a veteribus acceptum." f. 3v. 1585. High Street, South side—Philip Conran, 40s. 4d.; Sir William Sarswell, 6s. 8d.; William Fitzsimones, 22s.; John Gaidon, 25s. North side—George Usher, in the market, 4s. 6d.; Christopher Sedgrau in Ram Lane, 2s. 4d.; James Barre, 40s.; John Dornen for two messuages, 22s.; Thomas nithe for four messuages, £4° 3s.; the same, within the precinct, 20s.

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Trinity Lane-John Dornen, 8s.; John Forster, opposite west door of Church, 26s. 8d.; Elmaie Linche, widow, 16s.; Robert Brown, 8s. St. Michael's Lane—John Herman, clerk, 2s.; Christopher Sedgrau, 26s. 8d.; Richard Fagan, 15s.; William Gogh, 14s.; Patrick Clone, 10s. Winetavern Street-Richard Usher, for a cellar, 40s.; Patrick Goghe, do., 40s.; Henry Shelton, do., £3 6s. 8d.; William Forstere, do., 31s.; Thomas Dillone, 8s. Rochele Lane-Sir William Sarswell, 18s. 4d.; John Malone, for the common garden, 3s. 4d. The Fishe Streate—Richard Fagan, for the gate and a mease next southwards. 14s. 8d.; Walter Plunket, 11s.; Matthew Hamling, 30s.; John Forster, 4s.; Kate Dongan, three messuages, £3; Richard Flodie, for a messuage, 20s.; The same, do., £1. St. Warburge Street-James Stanihurt, next Polgate, 8s. 4d.; Edward FitzSimones, 26s. 8d.; John Dornen, for a garden, 16d. Skiner Reaw-Mr. Galtrum, for the corner house next the high cross, 46s. 8d.; Christopher Sedgrave, for John Miles' house, 12s.; William Quitnie (?), for Calfabus, 26s. 8d.; John Dornen, for the stable at the corner of the market, St. Niclas Street—Daniel Smith, 10s.; 4s.; William White, 14s. 8d. Bridge Street-John White, head-rent, 2s.; Edmund Mr. Ford, 4s. Luttrell, 21s.; Edmund Devnishe, 4s.; Henry Row, 23s. 4d.; Nicholas Harbarte, 12d. Upon the Key—Thomas Welshe, 5s.; John Talbote, 6s. 8d.; Geffree Maris, 4s.; Patrick Broune, next Isold's tower, 10s. Quoke Street— Mr. Horsse, "elemosina," 6s. 8d.; Patrick Mey, do., 6s. 8d.; Henry Broune, for two meses, 23s.; James Viall, St. Patrick's Street, 6s. 8d.; Justice Bathe, for a mill, 21s.; Bartholomew Russell, towards the Coume, 16d.; Patrick Gygen, in St. Fraunces Street, 20s. St. Thomas Street—Mr. Penteny, 6s. 8d.; Christopher Fagan, for two meses, 42s.; Nicholas Maghere, 30s.; Laghlen Tailore, 16s.; James Barre, 6s. 8d. Oxmanton—Henry Fyssher, 6s. 8d.; Edmund Barnewall, 6s.; Richard Holdman, 13s. 4d.; Walter Cusak, 4s.; Richard Rouncell, for a mese and "colcot," 24s. 8d.; Thomas Proutfote, 8s.; Thomas Cane, 13s. 4d.; James Digname, 12s. 6d.; Walter Sedgrave, 16s.; Richard Fagane, 5s.; Patricke Loghane, 9s.; James Malone, in Fisher Lane, and a garden by the field, 10s.; Richard Usher, in Fisher Lane, 12d. St. George's Lane—Katherine Dongane, two gardens, as above; Henry Broune, a garden, as above; Michael Ustace, for a garden, 4s.; Vicars of St. Patrick's, 3s.; Sir Henry Harintone, for an orchard at Grangegorman, 4s.; Hugh (Brady), Bishop of Meath, for an orchard thereby, 6s. 8d. Street-John Forster, for two meases, 13s. 4d.; John Bowrane, for four meses, 26s. 8d.; Sir Laurence Briane, 10s.; Nicholas Veldone, 10s.; Christopher Sedgrave, for the stone house at the corner, 16d. Lands in the country— John Alene, for the wood mill, £4; Edward Fitz Simones for the Rectory of Killestere, 26s. 8d.; Lord Howth, for the manor of Killester, 5s.; Simon

Luttrell, for Stagubbe, 24s. 4d.; David Sutton, for Maplestone, £3 6s. 8d.; Sir Henry Harintone, "for the muche Cabbraghe," £5 16s. 8d.; Laurence Delahide, for Brenestone by Meglare, 20s.; a mese in Ballrodane and 4 acres, and meadow; Barnabe Scurlock, for Athboy, 26s. 8d.; Thomas Long, for Rathmore, 20s.; Sir Laurence Briane, for Lucan and Esker, 12s.; Nicholas Clintone, for Crumlen, 6s. 8d.; Alsone Alene, for Kevene's farm in Crumlen, 10s.; Ballimor, a farm, 12s.; Gerald Plunket, for Kensale, head-rent, 5s. 6d.; Hugh Bethell, for a mese in Drogheda, 2s. 4d.; Sir John Bedlewe, knight, for the Rectory of Phillipstone N(ugent), 20s.; Art Macfeme's Country in Lecale, £3; a mese in Dunboine, 18d.; John Dornen, for Finglas, 24s.; Mayor and City of Dublin, £20; Her Majesty's pension, £43 13s. 10 d.

Partly in English.

4. Account of proceedings in the dispute between Christ Church and 1300. St. Patrick's in regard to the election of Archbishops of Dublin. f. 6.

On the festival of St. Francis of the Order of Friars Minor (24 May?), 1300, John Braybrok reached Dublin with bulls from the Roman Curia, dated at the Lateran 28 March, 1300, in which Boniface (VIII) stated that Matthew (Rubeus), Cardinal deacon of St. Mary de Porticu, had been delegated to hear this case, but that for many years no proceedings had taken place, and that lately Matthew has cited the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's to appear, but that they had not done so. The Pope therefore directs the Archbishop, Dean, and Archdeacon of Armagh to cause the Dean and Chapter aforesaid to appear before them within six months to defend the The Archbishop, Dean, and Archdeacon accordingly, on 6 July, by their commissary, the Prior of Athirde, caused them to be cited in St. Patrick's. Thereupon the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's made the following demands: That on a voidance of the See, both chapters should seek royal licence to elect; that the Prior and convent of Holy Trinity should fix the time for the election, and summon those who had a right to be present thereat; that the election should be held at the Church of the Holy Trinity, and that the Prior thereof should have the first voice in it; that the decree of election should be sealed with the seals of both chapters; that the consecration (if in Ireland) and enthronization should take place at Holy Trinity; that at the election on the next voidance three or four of the "majores" of St. Patrick's should be present "tamquam amici non ut electores"; and that on subsequent occasions the election should be by both chapters.

¹ The date usually given for the festival of St. Francis (4 October) cannot be intended here. His malation was observed at Lincoln on 24 May.

The Chapter of Holy Trinity made the following demands: 1. Confirmation of all the benefices granted them by Archbishop Luke. 2. Exemption, similar to that enjoyed by St. Patrick's, for all their churches from the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon. 3. Restoration to them of the chapels of Archbishops Fulk, Luke, and John de Sanford. 4. Restoration of the Bull of Boniface (VIII) for Archbishop William de Hothom. 5. Also of the Bull which decreed that the Archbishop should celebrate five times a year at Holy Trinity. 6. That the Archbishop should be consecrated and enthroned, and (unless he directs otherwise) buried at Holy Trinity. suffragans of the province should be [consecrated] and make their profession of obedience at Holy Trinity, and that the choir cope in which Master W. Calf was consecrated Bishop of Kildare, and which the Dean of St. Patrick's had taken from brothers Hugh le Mareschal and Richard de Notingham, canons of Holy Trinity in St. Patrick's, should be restored to 8. Power to elect their Prior without licence obtained from anyone. 9. St. Patrick's to pay to Holy Trinity 3 oz. of gold per annum in token of filial subjection. 10. The official in the vacancy of the see to be appointed, and to render his accounts, at Holy Trinity, and the seal of the official, whether the see be vacant or occupied, to be kept at Holy Trinity. 11. Synods to be held at Holy Trinity. 12. The canons of St. Patrick's to swear to observe these privileges of Holy Trinity.

The Chapter of St. Patrick's replied that it belonged to the Archbishop, not to them, to grant such concessions; nevertheless, if they were given equality in the election of Archbishops, and if the ordinance of Pope Nicholas (III)² should remain in perpetual force, they were ready to accede to these demands. The prior and convent would not comply with the conditions named. The Dean of St. Patrick's-Thomas de Chaddisworththen declared his intention as Vicar-General of the Archbishop, who was absent from Ireland, of visiting the prior and convent on the morrow of the Exaltation (15 September). The prior and convent, by their proctor, Audoen de Ymer, made formal objection to Chaddisworth as their visitor, since he was their opponent in an undecided cause, and appealed to the Pope, 11 August, in the presence of Sir Hugh, chaplain, Dean of Christianity of Dublin, Nicholas the clerk, provost of the same city, Master John de Kerdif, Master Adam de Straton, official of the Archdeacon of the

¹ The word 'chapel' is here used in a technical sense, meaning the apparatus necessary for the performance of episcopal functions, such as vestments, ornaments, service-books, and even the diocesan registers. The relevance of the demand to the controversy between Christ Church and St. Patrick's will be evident to readers of an article by the Rev. James Wilson, Litt.D., on 'The Ornaments of a Bishop's Chapel,' in the Antiquary, vol. xlii. (1906), p. 178.

² See below, no. 19.

same city, and many others. The prior and convent appointed Audoen their proctor to prosecute their appeal at the Roman Curia, and on the Sunday before St. Luke's Day (16 October), the Prior gave him licence of absence for that purpose.

But afterwards the prior, "reatum perjurii et forum simonie committens," made known to the Dean and Chapter what had been done, and the latter went to Sir J. Wogan, Chief Justiciary of Ireland, and appealed to him to induce the prior to come to terms of peace with them. The justiciary, whose brother was a canon of St. Patrick's, caused the Prior to be summoned before him on the festival of St. Michael (29 September), and compelled him to agree to a "compositio pacis," directed by Archbishop Richard (de Feringes), which is recited in full [here is inserted the heading, cap. i.]. This document, with verbal differences, has been printed in Mason's St. Patrick's, page viii. It is followed [cap. ii.] by the Privileges of the Church of the Holy Trinity, ratified by Archbishop Richard (de Feringes), which have also been printed by Mason in the same place. The copy in the White Book is somewhat fuller than that given by Mason from Alan's Register, containing an additional provision as to the number of those who are to take part in the election of an Archbishop, viz.: that reference is not to be made to the number of canons of St. Patrick's at the time of the provision of Pope Nicholas III, and, in electing by way of compromise, "numerus in uno excedens semper de conventu sancte Trinitatis assumatur."

Followed by certificate of John Bowland, notary public.

Cf. Christ Church Deeds 164, Reg. Alan. ii. 21.

- 5. [iii.] Precedents in regard to the custody of the Archbishop's cross.

 f. 9.*.
- (a) In 1449 died Archbishop Richard Talbot, and Michael Tregorre, s.T.D., was consecrated. The cross was found to have been pledged with Richard White, tailor, of St. Nicholas Street, for 5 marks, by John Strenasham (?) alias Barbor, and the prior and convent of Holy Trinity. Dean Nicholas Hill and the chapter of St. Patrick's denied all responsibility, and Tregorre compelled the prior and convent to release it.
- (b) Archbishop Michael (Tregury) died 21 December, 1471, at his manor of Tavelaght. In his sickness he sought his cross from the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, who replied that it was in the custody of the prior and convent. Having received it from the latter, he subsequently returned it to them by the hands of Master Richard Fyche, "prepositus sue domus."
 - (c) In the same year Archbishop John Walton, Abbot of Osonay, was

consecrated. He was installed in Holy Trinity Church, and the cross was delivered to him by the prior and convent. On starting for England to get his pall, he gave the cross, at Howth, to brother William Kerny, canon of Holy Trinity and proctor of the prior and convent. Afterwards going to England with Gerald, Earl of Kildare, he gave it to the same brother William, to be kept at the monastery of the B.V.M. near Dublin and Ballyboght; but on his resignation of the See he delivered it to the prior and convent, with whom it remained until it was restored to Walter (FitzSimons), after he had been consecrated and installed in Holy Trinity Church, on condition that when he went elsewhere it should be returned to the prior and convent. And, notwithstanding the protest of Richard Eustace, canon of St. Patrick's, Archbishop John (Walton) declared that its custody belonged to the prior and convent.

- (d) [In later hand] Archbishop Walter FitzSymon, going to visit King Henry VII, "pro zelo Hibernie gencium," on 11 October, 1493, at "le Rode eigh," in the port of Dublin, delivered the cross to Master Geoffrey Fiche, his official and seneschal, to be handed over to the prior and convent. In the absence of the prior he gave it to Sir Thomas Fyche, canon and proctor of the prior and convent.
- (e) [In earlier hand] Archbishop Walter (FitzSimons), on 20 September, 1504, at Houth, going to visit Henry VII, delivered his cross to Richard (Skyrett), prior, and the convent of Holy Trinity, and constituted the prior, and Master Geoffrey Fyche, official, his Vicars-General.
- (f) [In same hand as (d)] Archbishop Walter FytzSymon died 14 May, 1511, at his manor of Fynglas. Next day his body was carried to Holy Trinity Church, and Mass was there celebrated for his soul; thence it was carried to his Palace of St. Sepulchre, and next day funeral obsequies were celebrated. On Saturday (17 May) three Masses were celebrated in St. Patrick's—of St. Mary, by Master Nicholas Kerdyff, chancellor; of the Holy Spirit, by brother Richard Skyrrett, prior of Holy Trinity; and for the dead, by Master Thomas Rychford, Dean of St. Patrick's; then the body was buried before the image of St. Patrick in the nave, and the cross was carried to Holy Trinity by the prior for custody.
- (g) [In another hand] Archbishop William Rokby, going to England, on 26 January, 1514, gave his cross to William Hoge, mayor, who had accompanied him to the coast, to be handed to the prior and convent of Holy Trinity. He gave it to brothers Richard Ball and William Lamkyn, canons of Holy Trinity, sent by the prior and convent to receive it.
- 6. [iv.] Decree of Archbishop Richard (Talbot) about procurations. f. 12.
 2 May, 1426. The procurations exhibited at ordinary visitations for the [2*]

priory of Holy Trinity and the churches appropriated to it in the first year of the Archbishop were 10 marks per annum. They were subsequently reduced to 5 marks. Now, on account of various calamities and great outlay, the revenues are so small that there is danger of the closing of the priory. On the petition of the prior and convent, after inquisition, and with the consent of the two chapters, the procurations are reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ silver marks. The instrument was drawn by Masters John Bryis and Thomas Peynton, notaries, and ratified by the two chapters. The seals of the Archbishop and the chapters were affixed, in the 6th (sic) year of the Archbishop's consecration.

John Bowland certified that the deed was confirmed by Pope Eugenius IV, by Bull dated Bononia, 3 January, 1438.

In Christ Church Deeds, 283, 288.

There is an error in the date. The pall was sent to Talbot 12 August, 1418 (Papal Letters, vii. 57). The sixth year of his consecration must, therefore, have ended in 1424.

7. [v.] Confirmation by King John of the possessions of the prior and 6 March, 1202. convent in Ireland. f. 13.

Ends: "T(estibus) Johanne Lachan episcopo Lincoliensi, Willelmo de Lichefeld episcopo Willm Marascall comite Prembroch (sic), Johanne de Driwer, Hugone de Nevill, W. de Samford, Waltero de Capilupo, R. filio Philippi. Dat' per manum H. de Wellis Archidiaconi Wellensis apud Pembroke, &c.

In Reg. Alan. ii. 175, from which it is printed in Chartae 12 (without names of witnesses). Inspeximus in Christ Church Deeds, 364 (c).

8. [vi.] On the appointment of an official on a voidance of the See of 2 November, 1294. Dublin. f. 14.

The See being vacant by the death of John de Samford, the two chapters met at Holy Trinity. It was decided that when the See was vacant a fit person should be elected by the chapters to administer the diocese and province in their name and stead (saving the rights of the archdeacon), to be chosen alternately from the clergy of Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's. Master Adam de Furneys was elected official, and proctors (unnamed) were elected to seek royal licence to elect.

In Dignitas Decani 45.

9. [vii.] Judgment of the Official of Dublin on the claim of the prior and 2 August, 1281. convent against the mayor and citizens for tithes of fish caught in the water of Anilysty.

f. 15.

The parties appeared at St. Patrick's, and, the mayor and citizens having admitted the claim, judgment was given accordingly.

10. [viii.] Concerning tithes of fish caught in the water of Anilyffy. f. 15.

24 March, 1425. In a letter to the Dean of Christianity, the chaplain of the parochial church of St. Michan, and all parochial chaplains in the city and Diocese of Dublin, the Official of Dublin states that John Dyrre, parishioner of St. Michan's, fisherman of a boat belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, having been charged by the prior and convent of Holy Trinity with retaining tithes due to them of fish caught by him in the water of Anilyffy, and the charge having been proved, sentence was given by him that the said John Dyrre should pay the tithes—viz.: two salmon, or the equivalent in money, 2s., and 49s. for the costs of the action, and that, by way of penalty for his long detention of the tithes, he should, on six several days up to the feast of Pentecost, be beaten round St. Michan's Church, naked save for a loin-cloth, by the curate.

11. [ix.] Instrument regarding salmon fishing at Pollebegge. f. 15. 23 May, 1473. Certifies that a meeting was held in the western gate of the precincts of St. Patrick's between David Wynchester and Thomas Fich, canons of Holy Trinity, and Nicholas Beket, farmer for the house of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham of the manor of Clontarf, about the right to tithes of salmon caught in a hole in the river Aniliffy near the sea, commonly called Polbeg, i.e. Puteus Parvus, that there were cited to it, at the instance of the prior and convent of St. John, Walter Whythir, James White, [John inserted above the line] Ullester and Dionysius Gaffney, salmon fishers at that place, that it was agreed to abide the testimony of Sir Robert Dowdall, knight, Chief Justice of the Common Bench, who had held the farm of the manor of Clontarf for many years, and that he declared that he had never had the tithes aforesaid, but that the prior and convent of Holy Trinity had obtained them peaceably.

Ends: "presentibus egregiis viris Philippo Bermyngham armigero, Ricardo Nangle clerico, Roberto Delyn clerico, Johanne Bone, Johanne Severn, Willelmo Reagh, Patricio Tole, Cristoforo FitzEustase, et magistro Thoma Northeren notario publico testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Et cetera."

Followed by notarial certificate of John Bowlond.

In Christ Church Deeds 304.

12. [x.] List of Archbishops of Dublin.

c. 1480. This list (which is partly illegible) is re-copied on the inserted c. 1515. leaf f. 18. This second list begins with Donatus, first bishop and founder of Holy Trinity Church. Dates are not given for him or the two following bishops. It is mentioned that Robert de Waldelbi (stc) was

an Augustinian, and that one of the reasons for the resignation of John Walton was his blindness. The list originally closed with a notice of the translation of William Rokbey from Meath in 1512. It is followed by an unfinished note (in Archbishop Alan's hand?), stating that John Alen, LL.D., was consecrated on the 2nd Sunday in Lent 1529 (=1530). After this the names of succeeding Archbishops down to Bulkeley are scribbled.

The older list originally ended after the consecration of John Waltoune (1472-1484), under whom it seems to have been written. The notice of his resignation (f. 19) is by another hand, by which also No. 13 was written.

c. 1490. Walter Fytz Symon, l'recentor of St. Patrick's, was provided 24 September, 1484, Nicholas Boys [agent] of the resigning Archbishop, John (Walton), and of Walter [made arrangements] with the prior and convent of Holy Trinity for the consecration and enthronement. But John Alayn, Dean of St. Patrick's, with the Chancellor, Treasurer, and others of his chapter, claimed the right to have the consecration at St. Patrick's, and in spite of an appeal to the "compositio pacis" (see no. 4), the Elect was consecrated there the next day. The prior and convent, through brothers William Kerdif and Richard Skeret, their economi and proctors for this purpose, made formal protest in the presence of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, and notified their right to the suffragan bishops and others at a provincial synod held soon afterwards.

The certificate of John Bowland, notary, follows.

14. [xi.] Composition between the prior and convent, and William de 1251 × 1255 Northfeld, Archdeacon of Dublin, about Rathfernan. f. 20.

In Crede Mihi, f. 102, Reg. Alan., i. 9, ii. 78.

The arrangement took place under Archbishop Luke (1230-1255). Northfeld was Archdeacon as late as 1275. Hence he must have come after Hugh, who was Archdeacon till his promotion to the See of Ossory in 1251. Thus the date is 1251 × 1255.

15. List of the spiritualities and temporalities belonging to the dignitaries 1585. of Christ Church. f. 20.

The Precentor has the prebendal Church of Balgriffen, with the chapel of St. Dulachius in the same parish, the town and church of Drumsalan, a messuage in Couloke, and half the greater tithes of Kilcullen, Kilgoen, Halvestone, and Nicolstone, in Killkullen parish. Ballygriffen church is set to farm for 61 years from 1580 at £4 10s. a year; the glebe of the same for 61 years from 1558 at 20s.; Drumsallan for 61 years from 1563 at £7 10s.; Killcullen, Kilgone, Halvestone, and Nicolstone at £5. The Chancellor has the other half of the tithes mentioned above, with the glebe and vicarage, the tithes of Galmolestone, Castelmarten, and Kineghe, the tithes of Blackrathe,

in the same parish, lands in Roganstone and Lespopell in the parish of Swords, three messuages in Earlingforde [? Carlingford], and certain lands there, 13s. 4d. on Ministone, and the rectory of Kindenall in Munster, yielding in all £20. The Treasurer has the greater tithes of Balscadan, a tenement in Balscadan, with four acres "in campo eiusdem," and the water-mill in Glasnevin, yielding in all £20.

16. Copy of a certain concord (sic) in the Great Roll of 12 Henry VIII, 1520 × 1521. concerning the allocation of a grant of £20 to the prior and convent of Holy Trinity.

f. 21.

States that £20 was paid by the mayor and bailiffs to William (Hassard), prior, and the convent, which Henry VII had granted to Thomas (Harrold), prior, and the convent, by patent (as in no. 21), enrolled in Michaelmas term, 1497, in the Memorandum Roll of the Irish Exchequer. This sum of £20 having been resumed by the king under an Act of a Parliament held at Drogheda before Sir Edward Poynyngys, knight, Deputy of the king, on the Monday after St. Andrew (1 December), 1494, was re-granted, the payments to begin five years after 1 December, 1494. "Concordatum est et concessum(?) per barones huius scacarii quod predicti nunc maior et ballivi allocationem habeant de predictis xx^{to} libris infra summam oneris sui predicti pretextu premissorum prout in dicto magno rotulo continetur."

The record appears to be incomplete both at the beginning and the end.

17. [xii.] Exemplification of an Act of a Parliament held before Gerald, 1482. Earl of Kildare, deputy of Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York, on the Friday after St. Luke last past (19 October, 1481), and after prorogations on the Monday after Trinity (3 June, 1481), ordaining, on petition of prior Thomas (Harrold), and the canons and convent of Holy Trinity, that the prior and convent of Holy Trinity may hold possessions given or bequeathed to them, notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain, and that demises of property may be made to them without licence on payment of 6s. 8d. into the Hanaper. f. 22.

Another and fuller inspeximus is in Christ Church Deeds 334, by which the date is fixed.

18. [xiii.] Bull of Urban (III) regarding the privileges of Holy 2 July, 1186. Trinity.

f. 22. f.

Confirms to Holy Trinity Church the rule of St. Augustine and its possessions, viz.: the Church of Holy Trinity and the city and rural churches appertaining thereto; freedom from tithes; permission to hold services with closed doors and no use of bells, in a general interdict; free burial in the Church to those who make provision therefor in their last will; and that no

one is to enter the precincts for the purpose of arresting or killing anyone, or for burning or theft, or other violence. Dated at Vienna by the hand of Albert, cardinal priest and chancellor.

A summary of Christ Church Deeds 6. A different summary is printed in Chartae, 4, from Reg. Alan. ii., 175.

19. [xiv.] Exemplification of a Bull of Pope Nicholas III, concerning 4 May, 1279. the election of Archbishops of Dublin. f. 23.

James, canon "Ronomoñ," doctor of decrees, chaplain to the Pope and "litterarum contradictarum auditor," grants to Master Luke de Guarcium, clerk, proctor of the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, a copy of the following letters granted to the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's through their proctor, Master Richard Duciwerde.

The letters (7 March, 1279) state (1) that under Innocent III, on the death of Archbishop J(ohn Comyn) the two chapters elected H(enry de Loundres) archdeacon of Stafford, and that the election was confirmed by the Pope; (2) that subsequently a dispute having arisen between the prior and convent of Holy Trinity and the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's as to the right of election, and the two parties having submitted to the judgment of Archbishop L(uke), the archbishop ordained that the election should be by the two chapters, meeting together for the purpose at Holy Trinity Church [compare no. 66]; (3) that on the next vacancy the two chapters, according to this ordinance, elected the late Ralph de Norvico, canon of St. Patrick's, and that though Pope Alexander (IV) quashed the election and appointed Fulk de Samford,2 treasurer of St. Paul's, London, he affirmed in his letters commending the latter to the chapters that the right of election belonged to them; and (4) that on the last voidance, the King's licence (it is said) having been obtained according to custom, the election was proceeded with, but that the Pope was not sufficiently informed of the process to be able to terminate the dissension by a sentence. Pope Nicholas now ordains that on a vacancy the prior and convent of Holy Trinity shall summon the dean and chapter to the election, fixing such a time for it that the latter may be able to summon those of their own body who are entitled to be present, that the election be held at Holy Trinity Church by both chapters. This ordinance is to confer no right on either party by which prejudice might be created against the other in case the matter comes to be inquired into judicially, and it is to be observed until either party-"in possessorio" or "in petitorio"obtains sentence against the other.

¹ Perhaps an error for "Bononien" (of Bologna).

³ Our MS. has "Thome Fulconem de Stafordia" for "bone memorie Fulconem de Samford."

The letter exemplified is printed in Theiner Vetera Monumenta 119. Compare Papal Letters i. 453.

20. [xv.] Bull of Innocent (VII) confirming the privileges of the Church 3 July, 1406. of Holy Trinity. f. 24.

Dated at St. Peter's, Rome.

In Christ Church Deeds 270.

21. [xvi.] Letters Patent of Henry VII, granting £20 a year to the 1 October, 1486. prior and convent out of the fee-farm of the City of Dublin.

f. 25.

Compare Christ Church Deeds 394, 1451, and above, no. 16.

22. [xvii.] Statute of David (Winchester), prior, and the convent, providing **28 August**, **1493**. stipend for a master and food and clothing for four boys to serve in the Church.

f. 24^v.

The master—named Frend—and the boys are to sing daily at the Mass of St. Mary, and on the Fridays of Lent at the Mass of Jesus, and to perform such other duties as are required of them by the prior and precentor. For their support are to be used the oblations at the "baculum Jesu," the rent of William Cantrell's messuage in High Street, called "Holm is Innys," the rents of Roganeston in the parish of Swerdes, and a rent of 20s. granted to the convent by Henry Alton out of his lordship of Athirde, Co. Loueth. They are to have a separate room for teaching and sleeping.

In Christ Church Deeds 357 (with the signatures of the canons).

- 23. [xviii.] Confirmation of the foregoing Statute of David Wynchestyr and 10 September, 1493. the convent, by Archbishop Walter (Fitz-Simons). f. 26. Dated from Dublin Castle, the year being also the 9th of his consecration.
- 24. [xix.] W(illiam), Bishop of Leighlin, with the consent of his chapter, c. 1230. after the "renunciation" of John de Wall, clerk, on the presentation of Geoffrey de Wall, grants the Church of Rathothull to the prior and canons of Holy Trinity. f. 26.

This deed seems to be older than the confirmation of the possessions of Holy Trinity Church by Archbishop Luke (Christ Church Deeds 44), in which the Church of Ratchohel is named as belonging to it, and which seems to have been made early in the episcopate of Luke (1230-1255). But the only W. who was Bishop of Leighlin before A.D. 1346, was William, who was elected in 1228. Hence the date is in, or shortly after, that year.

25. [xx.] Agreement between the prior and convent and Sir Philip Walsh, 24 June, 1347. chaplain, about Rathothull. f. 26.

He is to have the tithes of corn and hay, oblations and lesser tithes, for five years, on undertaking to pay 5 marks a year, to repair the gable of the

chancel, and to roof it with double boards, and to clean the lower part of the chancel and the altar, &c., within a year and a half.

In Christ Church Deeds, 635.

26. [xxi.] Release of the Lord Thomas, son of John Earl of Kyldare, to 8 August, 1327. Robert de Gloucetir, prior, and the convent, respecting the advowson of the rectory and vicarage of Kylcolyn.

f. 27^v.

In Christ Church Deeds, 221 (b).

27. [xxii.] Grant of the same.

1327. The grant is made on condition that the prior and convent maintain a canon in priest's orders to celebrate mass daily at the altar before the cross of the Holy Trinity in the aforesaid church for the souls of the Earl, his consort, their parents and friends, and all Christians.

f. 27^{*}.

Dated at Dublin. Ends: "Hiis testibus fratre Rogero Outelay Priore de Kylmaynan cancellario Hiberniæ, Adam de Bretton seneschallo libertatis Kyldar, Petro Legleys, Geraldo de sancto Michie [sic], Johanne de Welesley, Milone de Rochford, militibus, Johanne Barby clerico et multis aliis."

In Christ Church Deeds, 221 (a).

28. [xxiii.] Release of Maurice, son of Thomas Earl of Kyldare, to 8 June, 1353. Stephen de Derby, prior, and the convent respecting the same advowson.

f. 29.

Ends: "Hiis testibus Adam Louestok tunc maiore ciuitatis Dubliñ, Johanne Callan et Petro Woder, ballivis eiusdem ciuitatis, Galfrido Crompe, Johanne Seriaunt seniore, Roberto de Moenes, Ricardo Colman clerico et multis aliis. Dat. apud Dublin," &c.

In Christ Church Deeds, 242.

29. [xxiv.] Ratification of the grant (no. 27) by indenture between the 10 May, 1353. parties in no. 28. f. 29.

Date partly over erasure.

In Christ Church Deeds, 241.

30. [xxv.] William Mareschall, Earl of Penbrok, ratifies whatever shall.
c. 1210. have been done by his wife Johanna, about the ordering of the Church of Kylcolyn, permitting her to alienate it for the souls of Earl Richard (Strongbow) her father, and others.
f. 30.

In Christ Church Deeds, 12.

For date, see note on no. 31.

31. [xxvi.] Charter of Johanna, Countess of Penbrok. f. 30v. c. 1210. Grants to Holy Trinity Church, for the salvation of Earl Richard (Strongbow), her father, and of Earl William Marischall, her lord, the

Lag and a second a

Church of Kylcolin, the advowson of which her lord has granted to her, half the tithes to be used for the maintenance of a canon to celebrate for ever in that church for the souls of the above, the other half for providing cloths for the canons. Her chaplain, Walter, is to have the perpetual vicarage for life, paying to the canons of Holy Trinity 5 marks a year, and maintaining the church.

Ends: "His testibus Simon[e] Midensi episcopo, S. abbate de sancto Thoma [Dubliñ], Osberto priori hospitalis sancti Johannis extra nouam portam Dubliñ, Willelmo archidiacono, Helya de Mua, magistro [Petro] Malueisin, Audoeno Brun, magistro Radulpho, Willelmo Barun de Nas, Thoma filio Antonii, Ricardo le Cogan, Philippo filio Roberti, Roberto Cambiatore, Gilberto de Liuet, Willelmo de Insula et multis aliis."

In Christ Church Deeds, 13, and Liber Niger, no. 86.

Simon de Rochfort, Bishop of Meath, does not seem to have been consecrated before 1298 (Chartularies, i. 143). Moreover, four of the witnesses are signatories of Christ Church Deed, 24, which seems to date from after 1209. On the other hand, the instrument appears to be earlier than Liber Niger no. 88, and must, therefore, be not later than 1212.

32. [xxvii.] Release "in legitima viduitate," by Johanna de Burgo, 23 January, 1329. Countess of Kyldare, in respect to the advowson of the vicarage of Kylcolyn.

f. 31.

Dated at Dublin.

33. [xxviii.] Convention between the abbot and convent of St. Thomas 24 July, 1335. and the prior and convent of Holy Trinity. f. 31.

The abbot and convent surrender all claim to the tithes of one carucate in the tenement of Kynnegh, near Adgarvan, belonging to the chapel of the B.V.M. of Castlemartin, annexed to the parish church of Kylcolyn, saving the tithes and issues of the cattle of the abbot and convent grazing thereon, and the tithes of their curtilages. The carucate is called Codaygh, and lies between the king's highway from Kynneygh to Adgarvan and the Curragh of Kyldare, and between the roads called "le Channonbother" and "le Rathbother." The prior and convent are to surrender their claim to the remainder of the tithes of Kynnegh.

In Christ Church Deeds, 226.

34. Order of Geralde, Earl of Kyldare, Deputy of the King in Ireland,

1477 × 1478 that the mese of land on which is the castle of Kylcullyn,

or belonging to the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, Dulyng,

1480 × 1492. shall be free from coyne and livery.

f. 31.

In English.

For the two periods during which Gerald, Earl of Kildare, was Viceroy, and within which this document must lie, see J. T. Gilbert, Viceroys, 400, 404, 407, 445.

35. [xxix.] Instrument regarding the examination of witnesses about **June, 1503**. Kynegh and Blake Rath *alias* Canon Rath near Agarvan. f. 32.

The inquisition was held in Kylcolyn Church before Geoffrey Fych, official principal of the metropolitical court of Dublin, on the demand of brother Richard Skyrrett, prior of Holy Trinity, 18-20 June, 1503, and witnesses were examined concerning articles stating that the places named are in the parish of Kylkollyn, and that the residents in Kynegh have, time out of mind, attended service in the Chapel of Castelmartyn, and there paid their dues. Witnesses examined-Richard Canton of Kilcolyn, Henry Kelly of Folyeston, parish of Kilcolyn, Edmund Vale, chaplain; Sir Cornelius Oconnyll Archdeacon of Kildare; Cormac Scholler of Castelmartyn (who saw Sir William Roth, chaplain and canon of Cartmayle in England, Sir Nicholas Hynnews, and Sir Edmund Vale, serving in the chapel of Castelmartyn); Eugenius alias Odo More of Castelmartyn, husbandman (who stated that John Davy, canon of Kildare, continually celebrated in the Church of Agarvane). The depositions were taken in the presence of Sir James Conyll, chaplain, Bartholomew Long and John Browne, literates, John Hayne and David Hach, laics, and others.

Signed by the official, and his notary, Master Robert Skyrrett. Compare Christ Church Deeds, 376.

36. [xxx.] Inspeximus of Act of Parliament that the tenants Glassenevyn 8 January, 1492. should be free from "conew" and "lyverey." f. 34.

The Act (in English) was passed by a parliament which met before Gerald, Earl of Kildare, deputy of Jaspar, Duke of Bedford and Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant, at Dublin, on the Friday before St. Hilary last past (7 January, 1491), and after adjournments on the Tuesday before St. Martin (8 November, 1491). The exemption had been granted by Gerrot, Earl of Kyldare, and was by this Act confirmed, on the petition of David (Winchester), prior, and the convent of Holy Trinity, who got exemplification. It is signed: "Dowedall, Ex. per William Candell and William Kyltale, clericos."

37. [xxxi.] Exemplification of an Act confirming the privileges of Christ 26 August, 1493. Church with regard to pilgrims. f. 34.

The Act (English) was passed at a parliament held at Dublin before Walter (Fitz Simons), Archbishop of Dublin, deputy of the Lord Lieutenant in no. 36, on the Friday after the Nativity of St. John Baptist (28 June), and, after prorogation, on the Monday after St. Peter ad vincula (5 August). It confirms to Prior David (Winchester), and the convent, the immunities enjoyed by pilgrims to Holy Trinity, which had of late been

disturbed by malicious persons. Exemplification is signed: "Prendregast, Ex. per Jacobum Prendregast et Robertum Lynne, clericos."

Printed in Todd Obits, xxiii.

38. [xxxii.] Pleas in regard to Mablieston.

f. 35v.

19 March, 1403. At an assize held at Dublin before John Bermyngham, serjeant at law of the King, and William Tynbegh, King's Justice for all assizes of new disseisin in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Loueth, and Kildare, James (de Redenesse), prior of Holy Trinity, complained that he had been wrongfully dispossessed of 5 marks of rent out of the free tenement in Mablieston by Anastasia White, Robert Taillour, chaplain, Thomas Cruys, chief serieant of the King in Co. Dublin, John Talbot of Mayne, and Robert Bernewale, coroners of the King in the same county, Richard Tyrrell, Simon Balybyn and John Prendregast, who appeared by their bailiff Reginald The jurors—John Mongomery, Simon Coulok, John Walsh of Thurgotestoun, Richard Milis, Walter de la Felde, Simon Porter, Nicholas Wodlok, John Wodlok, William Brossard (?), Thomas Wydon', William Wylpyt and John Serjaunt—find that the prior was in peaceful possession until he distrained for said rent, when Anastasia White resisted (rescussit), but that the other defendants were not present on that occasion, and they assess the prior's loss at 5 marks for rent and 25 marks for arrears. regard to his title they find that all the priors from Robert, the late prior, who enfeoffed John Comyn of the free tenement of Kynsaly, to a time long before the passing of the Act of Mortmain, and since the passing of that Act, were in peaceful possession thereof, and that the present prior was seized thereof apart from any collusion. The court accordingly granted that the prior should recover possession of the rent, and the loss which he incurred, and that because of his false claim against Robert Taillour and the other defendants he should pay 2s. This sum was paid in court to John Derpatrick, the sheriff.

39. [xxxiii.] Concerning the custody of the manor of Kynsaly, on the death c. 1280. of the lord. f. 36.

Part of a letter from the justiciary (?) to the king, which states that an inquisition had been held at the suit of Amabilia wife of John Comyn, by the writer and the escheator, which found that the custody belonged to the prior of Holy Trinity. A fresh inquisition was held, the jurors being Richard de Faypo, Henry le Rou, Wulfraun de Bernewall, John de Wycumbe, William Abot, Simon Marescall, William Fitz Matthew, Henry de Safeble, Adam de Beawer, Richard Brun, Richard le Blund, and Simon de Canda. They found that all chief lords of lands in Ireland, to whom belongs homage out of the same, have custody on the death of the tenants. That the

prior had, on such grounds, the custody of the above-named manor appears from the agreement between prior Robert and John Comyn, by which the right of the prior is recognized, in return for a grant of the villa to Comyn, except a carucate which Margaret Comyn held, he paying 5 marks of silver a year during her life, and 100s. a year after her death. The jurors accordingly find that the prior has the custody.

The date of the agreement of Prior Robert and John Comyn was 1260; and the claim of Holy Trinity Church seems to have been finally admitted shortly before November, 1286. See Christ Church Deeds 91, 143. By these facts the date is approximately determined.

40. [xxxiv.] Judgment of Geoffrey Fyche, official principal of the metro10 October, 1493. political court of Dublin as to half a pound of wax due
each year from the villa of Chamereston in the parish of Fynglass to the prior
and convent.

f. 36.

Thomas Fyche, canon and proctor general of prior David (Winchester), and the convent of Holy Trinity, having, in the consistory of St. Patrick's, charged Dalvaticus Otole, tenant and farmer of Thomas Sale, gentleman, son and heir of Geoffrey Sale, late lord of Chamereston, deceased, with withholding the above due, which Thomas Sale had paid for over 16 years, up to 2 September, 1493, and which the convent had enjoyed for about 40 years—Otole having promised to render it in the name of Thomas Sale between 2 September and Michaelmas (29 September)—the official condemns him to pay 6s. 8d. in court to Thomas Fyche in full satisfaction thereof, and to render it, or a composition for it, to the convent annually within three weeks of the festival of Holy Trinity. Ends: "Presentibus tunc Domino Nicholao Boys canonico dicte ecclesie sancti Patricii, Magistris Thoma Browne, Thoma Yong, Johanne Staunton et Roberto Lynn, notariis, Paulo Telyng clerico, Patricio White apparitore et diuersis aliis."

In Christ Church Deeds, 359.

- 41. [xxxv.] Instrument containing various documents concerning the 15 March, 1463. privileges of Holy Trinity Church. f. 37.
- (1) A Bull of Pope Boniface VIII, confirming the privileges granted by preceding pontiffs, and by kings and princes, dated at the Lateran, 14 March, 1302.
- (2) A letter of Matthew (O'Hoey), Bishop of Ardagh, stating that he had examined Bulls of Alexander IV, Innocent III, Honorius II, Celestine V, Gregory X, Adrian VI (sic), Boniface VIII, Clement IV, and John XXII, which granted indulgence of a year and forty days, and relaxation of the

Obviously ascribe's blunder, since Adrian VI became Pope in 1522. The correct reading is no an IV (1154-1159); for the pope in question is mentioned as Adrian lower down, and 76) only reigned a few weeks. Adrian III (884) is too early.

seventh of their penance, to those who contributed to the reparation of the fabric of the Church of Holy Trinity and Holy Cross, Dublin, and were contrite and confessed; and mentioning several other privileges granted by these and other popes (e.g., that at the request of the proctors of the said church convocations of the clergy and the laity of both sexes were to be called on days and at places assigned, and that the proctors might celebrate divine offices, even in interdicted churches), and a grant of forty days' indulgence to benefactors by Rouland (Jorse) Archbishop of Armagh. Sealed by Bishop Matthew and the prior and convent of Holy Trinity at Rathescop on Thursday, the festival of SS. Philip and James (1 May), "anno Domino mio. vicesimo" (1320).

(3) A statement that the prior and convent appeared before Adam de Kyngeston, clerk of Lichfield diocese, notary public (who certifies the correctness of the copies), "in the year, indiction, month, day, place, and pontificate above named," and declared that they were afraid to incur the risk of sending the originals of the foregoing letters to the Roman curia, and had therefore caused copies to be made in the presence of brother Adam Payn, canon of Holy Trinity, and Sir Richard Troye, chaplain.

These three documents were comprised in an instrument drawn by Adam de Kyngeston. Kyngeston having recently (nuper) died, the undersigned notary, Thomas (Arilton), certifies that it has been correctly copied in the present instrument.

(4) A Bull of Eugenius (IV), granting an indulgence of four years and as many quadragenae (i.e., 160 days) to penitents visiting the church on Laetare Sunday (4th Sunday in Lent), and contributing to the preservation or restoration of the fabric. Ferrara, 18 February, 1438.

In Christ Church Deeds, 289.

(5) An enumeration of other indulgences granted by archbishops and bishops, e.g. (i) by many archbishops and bishops, 400 days for saying the Lord's Prayer and Angelic Salutation in the church; (ii) by twenty-one archbishops and bishops, forty days for hearing Mass said by one of the canons thereof.

Compare Christ Church Deeds, 135, 144-149.

(6) Certificate that at the request of brother William Kynton, prior of Holy Trinity, made in the consistory of St. Patrick's, Robert Waren, official principal of the metropolitical court of Dublin, caused copies, which he certifies, to be made of ten papal letters (some originals) exhibited by the said prior; and that these proceedings took place in the presence of

¹ This is evidently the correct year. It fell within the episcopate of O'Hoey (1289-1322), and in it May-1 was a Thursday.

Master Thomas Arilton, notary public, John Laweles and Simon Tynbegh, literates of the dioceses of Meath and Dublin. Dated 15 March, 1463.

- (7) The appointment of brothers Robert Loghan, John White, and Patrick Felde by brother William Kynton, prior, and the convent, as their proctors for the publication of the foregoing indulgences, on same day.
- (8) Notarial certificates of William de Bueken alias de Ligno, clerk, of the diocese of Cloyne, and John Stanton, clerk, of the diocese of Dublin.
- 42. [xxxvi.] Instrument concerning the donation of Archbishop Laurence 25 May, 1364. (O'Toole) to the Church of Holy Trinity. f. 40.

Brother Stephen de Derby, prior, having exhibited the charter of Archbishop Laurence, sealed with his seal, which was injured by age, &c. but still legible, to the official of the court of Dublin, in Holy Trinity Church, by direction of the latter a certified copy was made by his scribe, Thomas White, notary public. The seal had the figure of a bishop standing with a staff in his left hand, and the legend Sigillum Laurencii Dublin ARCHIEPISCOPI. The charter confirmed to the regular canons of St. Augustine in the Church of Holy Trinity that church, and the churches of St. Michan. St. Michael, St. John Ev., St. Brigid, and St. Paul, and their possessions, the mill near the bridge, with tithes of fishing in the Anilyffy, "sicut melius habuerat," and the lands of Rochen, Portrechrann, Raith Chillin, Censale, a third of Clochuri, a third of Cellalinn, Lesluan, Cellesra, Duncuanagh, Glasneoden, Magdunia, Celldulich, Balemicamlaib, Cluain Coeinn, Talgach, Tulachcoeinn, Cellingeneleam, Celltinenn, Rathsalchaun, Tillachnaescop, Drumhing, Balleochucan, half of Rethnahi, Tirodrann, Ballerocharan, Balemoailph; and ended: "Hiis testibus Edano episcopo, Malacia episcopo de Lubgud, Eugenio episcopo de Cluainirairt, Nemia episcopo de Celdarch, Thoma abbate de Glendalacha, Radulfo abbate de Bildubas, Adam abbate de Sancta Maria apud Dublin, Patricio abbate de Millefont, Cristino abbate de Valle Salutis, Torquello Arcidiacono, Josep presbitero de Sancta Brigida, Godmundo presbitero de Sancta Maria, Edano presbitero de Sancto Patricio, Cennino presbitero de Sancto Michaele, Petro presbitero de Sancto Michen, Ricardo presbitero de Sancto Columba, Gilliberto presbitero de Sancto Martino et ceteris omnibus presbiteris Dublin, Hugone de Lacy constabulario Dublin, Wldelmo de Miset, Roberto de Sancto Michaele, Adam de Pheipo, Johanne Episcopo, Herdingo fratre eius, Adelmo, Rotgero Fihein, Wildelmo de Bruryng.

The instrument containing the exemplification ends: "Presentibus discretis viris magistro Henrico Rathfagh clerico, fratre Adam Payn suppriore

Ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis supradicte, Simone Cruys, Johanne Cruys, Waltero Cruys, et Willelmo Podesey," &c.

The notarial certificate of William de Bueken alias de Ligno follows.

The charter of St. Laurence is printed in *Chartae*, p. 2. There is another exemplification in Christ Church Deeds, 364.

The year of the charter of which exemplification is given is between the death of Etru Ua Miadhachain, Bishop of Clonard (1173 according to Ann. Ult.), and that of Archbishop Laurence (1180). It is dated 14 May in Christ Church Deeds.

43. [xxxvii.] Inquisition about the tithes of fishing in the water of 20 October, 1494. Anilyffy. f. 42.

Geoffrey Fyche, official principal of the metropolitical court of Dublin, sets forth that, on the complaint of David Wynchestre, prior, and the convent of Holy Trinity, of interference with their right to tithes of fishing on both sides of the river within the franchise of Dublin, he appointed, 16 November, 1493, Master Robert Skyrrett, prebendary of Typpyr, to hold an inquisition, and by his apparitor, Patrick White, summoned John Rendyll of Dublin, tailor, Walter Devenysh, "yeman," Nicholas Gorman, fisherman, William Barbor, John Dowgan, merchant, James Eustace, merchant, John Kenan, tailor, Makyn Kelly, barber, Thomas Rede, cook, Thomas Kelly, "cowper," Nicholas Laghnan, fisherman, John Barnarde, weaver, and Thomas Levett, fisherman. The inquiry being held in St. Brigid's Church, they found that the prior and convent were rectors and possessors of the tithes of fishing on both sides of the stream of Amlyffy, from the bank of the shore of the sea to the middle of the same water, from Isold's fount on the west, to the Barr Fote on the east, and from the thorn bushes (saliuncis) of the monks on the north to le Stayn on the south. Brother Thomas Fyche, canon and proctor-general of the Church of Holy Trinity, procured an instrument to be made about all these things.

Ends: "Presentibus Patricio White apparitore antedicto, Petro Wolff et Johanne Lang clericis et aliis diuersis," &c.

Notarial certificate of Willelmus de Bucken, alias de Ligno, follows. In Christ Church Deeds, 360.

44. [xxxviii.] Decree concerning pilgrims to Holy Trinity. f. 43. 30 April, 1495. Archbishop Walter (FitzSimons) sets forth that in his provincial council, held in the Church of the Holy Trinity, 5 March, and 29 and 30 April, in the 11th year of his consecration, on the petition of David Wynchester, prior, and the convent, the Act in no. 37 was confirmed,

¹ That this is the correct reading is made clear by a comparison of the original deed with no. 48 below, where the word is written in full. For the meaning, see Du Cange, s. c. Calcacrepa.

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offenders to be liable to the greater excommunication, and, if they remain obdurate thereunder for six days, to interdict on all places where they may be, the absolution of such person to belong to the prior and convent in the absence of the Archbishop.

Ends: "Presentibus . . . magistro Galfrido Fyche, officiali curie metropolitice Dublinensi principali ac prebendario sancti Audoeni Dublinenso necono fratribus Willelmo Stevenote Omnium Sanctorum, Simone Walsh Sancti Thome Martiris iuxta Dublin, Johanne Vale ecclesie Hospitalis Sancti Johannis de Kylmaynan prioribus, fratre Johanne Swayne, subpriore de Holmepatrick, dominis Ricardo Mylyne de Kylmatalwey, Nicholao Boys de Castroknock, Johanne Boys de Malahydert prebendariis ac magistro Dermicio Raylie in decretis bacallario cum multis aliis," &c.

William de Bueken alias de Ligno, clerk of the Diocese of Cloyne, notary public, certifies the instrument, which was sealed by the Archbishop, and Edmund (Lane), Bishop of Kildare, and signed by Master Thomas Walsh, Master Robert Skyret, and Master John Stanton, notaries.

In Christ Church Deeds, 361.

45. [xxxix.] Octavian (de Palatio), Archbishop of Armagh, sets forth 10 July, 1495. that similar proceedings took place at a provincial synod held at St. Peter's, Droghe'da, 6 July, and following days, at which John (Payne), Bishop of Meath, Tiberius, Bishop of Down and Connor, George (Brann), Bishop of Dromore, Donald (O'Fallon), Bishop of Derry, and Thomas (MacBrady) and Cormac, Bishops of Kilmore, assisted.

In Christ Church Deeds, 362.

46. [xl.] Confirmation of the possessions of the Church of the Holy 17 September, 1504. Trinity, by Archbishop Walter (FitzSimons). f. 47.

A long deed found also in Christ Church Deeds, 379, which gives the date. It has been fully summarized in the published calendar.

47. [xli.] Obligation of the Abbot and convent of the B.V.M. to the 14 July, 1500. Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity. f. 50°.

John Orum, Abbot, and the convent of B.V.M., with the consent of John Troy, Abbot of Millefont, bind themselves in £100 to Richard Skyrrett, prior, and the convent of the Holy Trinity, to abide the award of Master John Warde, doctor (of decrees), Master Richard Hoyn, official principal of Meath, Thomas Bermy[n]gham and Robert Forstere, citizens of Dublin (and merchants) in regard to their fishing rights.

The notarial certificate of John Mulghan, clerk of the Diocese of Dublin, follows.

In Christ Church Deeds, 372. Compare Chartularies, ii. 14.

48 [xlii.] The award of the arbitrators in no. 47.

17 July, 1500 They declare, with consent of Archbishop Walter (FitzSimons) and John Troy, abbot of St. Mary of Mellifont, that the prior and convent of Holy Trinity are entitled to tithes of fish caught on both sides of Aniliffy, except half the tithes of those landed on the north side of the Fyr Pole which belongs to the abbot and convent of St. Mary, and that marks should be erected to define the Fyr Pole. The seals of John Troy, abbot of Mellifont, Reformator of the whole Cistercian Order in Ireland, Nicholas Connyll, dean of Kildare, judge delegate, and John Horum, abbot, and the convent of B.V.M., are appended.

Ends: "Data et acta sunt hec in capella magna beate Marie ecclesie cathedralis Sancte Trinitatis Dubliñ ... presentibus . . fratre Roberto Evers priore de Kylmaynane, Willelmo Kerdyff, Ricardo Bath et Geraldo Delyon generoso, necnon Bartholomeo Rossell, Johanne More et Waltero Fyane mercatoribus," &c.

John Warde and Thomas Bermyngam add a note that on 9 September, 1500, with the consent of the other arbitrators, Richard Owyn and Robert Foster, and of the parties, they went round the above-named places and marked them with stakes and stones on the shore in five places from the thornbushes (saliuncis)¹ of the monks on the west to the land of Clontarffe on the east in the presence of the abbot and prior, certain canons, monks, and notaries, and Felmeus Otoyll, gent., Richard Botyller, laic, John Harroll and John Browne, clerks, and others. The notarial certificate of John Mulghan follows.

The earlier part of the document is in Christ Church Deeds 373.

49. [xliii.] Inventory of the goods of Richard Wydon, carpenter, of the 20 November, 1501. Parish of St. Warburge, Dublin. f. 53.

He possessed 2 porcelain cups (murras) worth 20s., 3 silver spoons 8s., "apparatus corporis" 6s. 8d., 7 candlesticks, a basin and ewer 5s., a basin in pledge 6d. sterling, a fyr dish 8d., 6 dishes, 5 plates and 2 saucers 8s., 1 banker, 6 coschynes 2s. 8d., 3 bordclothis and a towayll 4s., 3 sheets 3s., a hanging bed with cortenys 12d., 3 blankets 3s., a featherbed, another of flokkys with 2 woolen ("lā") coverlets 10s., pledges of Anne Donogh 6s. 8d., a small bell, 2 small pots, a small posnet 8s., a tripod 4s., an old chafoure 2s., a table 5s., a cupbord in the hall 20d., in hay 2s., a horse 20s., tools of his trade 20s., in silver 8s.

He owed, to Thomas Tyve 4s. 8d., to Henry Lawles, merchant 6s 8d., to William Sodyne 7s., to William Fleming 3s. 4d., to John Loghan 4s.

There was own to time by Join Tallows or Sautise Like Total 27-56, 2d. Portion of the temperate 456 for

1001 (*) He is to a ourset it the great many or EVM. In Holy Tenney Course. His wife doner Riagans is a layer all his lands for life, and on increase they are to pass to his culturer, and their herrs or in default of hours to the chapel of the EVM. Toner Hagans and his son William Wylan, are named as executors.

For each company set 45

Continuation of the foreign the foreign resument. : 5. . \$ Movember 1504. Sete forti I that on II May Ible impther Richard Wasti cated of Hop Tenney Su Thomas Philippe in Philippe chaplain, and Induse House's literate were examined in at Laurence's chapel. Holy Transfer Cannon, at the materials of the executives in in . Mr. The first deposed must when there of he Warburge's timent in went with the presbyter and smale of the same on Henry Mugion, it commisses the sucrements to Research Wyton then in the last Illiene. Rethard Wylin stated in the presentes of them and others that when he was eleven to twelve years out and house it the indee of the granification Richert Wyden is paralytic and separatly after to speak and Ahma his write who was also sink! Walter Changing which of ENM, brought them a tharter of relaxation of lands in the herbility of barratey providing that their marriter Albane Wydone should have the mark for life and that in her death they should revert to the inconsistery of E.V.M. and leagued them to seal it and that Aliena refused to to my on behalf of her hosband and herself; that the charter was never senior, and that subsequently learning that hir George Roch, chaplain, course of Kally agaill, was select of the lands he asked him whether it was er and that he denied it. The other two witnesses gave confirmatory we cancer Heldrek adding that Thomas Fych, sub-prior of Holy Trinity, was also present when Eichard Wydon made the foregoing statement. Witnesses to these depositions, Thomas Eych, sub-prior of Holy Trinity. John Browne, interacte, John Hayn and Walter Synott, laics. (2) That on 8 September, 1504, William Hebbard was examined in the nave of St. Michan's, Dublin, and depend that he was clerk of the town of Sauntri when Robert Wydon was dying that said Bohert was a paralytic, scarcely able to speak, and of inwould mind. He confirmed the statement that the charter was not sealed. Witnesses of the deposition, Sir Thomas Pecock and Sir Richard Walsh, chapus, Master William Walsh, notary public, John Hay, literate, and others. astrument was drawn at the request of the above-named Jonet Algan. Thrist Church Deeds, 380.

52. [xlv.] Citation by the Vicars-General in the absence of Archbishop October, 1504. Walter (FitzSimons). f. 54.

Richard Skyrret, prior of Holy Trinity, and Geoffrey Fyche, archdeacon Glendalough, Vicars-General, complaint having been made that Felmeus Juenis of the O'Byrnes' country (terra Branencium'), a pilgrim to Holy minity Church, had been arrested and imprisoned by Maurice Eustace, Lord Ballycutlane, commands the chaplains of the churches of Ballimore and Ballycutlane to demand his release, and to pronounce sentence of greater communication against Eustace if he did not comply within six days.

53. [xlvi.] Form of letter from Richard Skyrret, prior of Holy Trinity, requesting John, Bishop of Meath, to confer higher orders on nons of Holy Trinity already in minor orders.

f. 54^v.

The form was drawn up while Skyrrett was prior (1499-1519). There was no Bishop of Meath med John at that time.

54. [xlvii.] Composition made by Archbishop Alexander (de Bicknor) **S May, 1339**. between the prior and convent of Holy Trinity and Master Richard de Sancto Leodegario, Archdeacon of Dublin, as to procurations. f. 55.

The Archbishop ordains that the archdeacon shall have the same right of visitation and jurisdiction in the churches belonging to the prior and convent within his archdeaconry as he has over other churches in the same, and that the procurations payable to him shall be as follows:—St. Michael's, 32d.; St. John's, 2s.; St. Michan's, 2s.; Ballyscadan, 5s.; Glasnevyn, 20d.; Clonken and its chapels, 5s.; Tylaugh, 20d.

In Christ Church Deeds, 232.

In English.

55. Note on gifts of Strongbow to the Church of Holy Trinity. f. 56.

In 1180, Laurence being archbishop when Earl Richard Strangbowle and Sir Robert Fitz Stephen took Ballibaghille, there dwelt there one Macgoghdane, who, after four days of fighting, was captured and beheaded. The Earl, with the consent of Fitz Stephen, gave to the Church of Holy Trinity and Holy Cross, Balliboghille, as well as Portraghin, Kynsali, and the Staff of Jesus, called the Staff of St. Patrick.

Printed in Todd, Obits, p. ix. Also in Reg. Alan. ii. 58. Cf. Liber Niger, no. 101.

56. [xlix. (sic)] Immunity granted by the mayor and citizens of Dublin **21** April, 1497. to pilgrims to Holy Trinity. f. 56. Granted at the instance of David (Winchester), prior.

¹ Glenmalure. See Dowling's Annals, s. a. 1312.

In Gilbert, Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, i. 383, and in Todd's Obits, xxv.

On the lower part of f. 57 is the note: "Sum liber ecclesie cathedralis sancte Trinitatis civitatis Dubliñ factus per fratrem Thomam Fyche, canonicum eiusdem."

- 57. [xlix.] "Rental made by Sir Thomas Fyche, canon of Holy 1490. Trinity."
- (1.) Kynsaly. Rent 100s., with ward and marriage. In September, 1467, died William Balfe, lord of Kynsaly, leaving a son and heir, Alexander, William Sutton, Baron of the Irish Exchequer, desired of William Lynton, prior, the wardship and marriage of Alexander. In the charter (quoted) in which this was granted, the names of Walter Baldewyn, merchant, and Patrick Burnell, clerk, were, at the request of Lynton, substituted for that of Sutton. It was dated 17 October, 1467. This charter was surrendered 14 February, 1469, Alexander again becoming a ward of the prior. On 20 February, 1477, Sir Thomas Harrolld, prior, granted the wardship, for a money payment, to Philip Bremyngham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, by charter (quoted) [Christ Church Deeds, 307]. In July, 1477, Alexander died. His uncle, Edward Balffe, who was his heir, got livery from prior Thomas Harrold on paying £8 (£20 having been at first demanded) and doing homage at the high altar of "Christ Church" in presence of Oliver Plunket, knight, John Archebold, second baron of Exchequer, John Esterete, serjeant-at-law of the King, Peter Prowtefote, John FitzRobert, and others. On his death, December, 1479, his son and heir W. Balfe, then aged twelve years. lived eight years (sic) at "Christ Church" as ward of the prior till the death of Thomas Harrold in February, 1489, who was succeeded by David Wynchester. In the same year W. Balfe bought the lands of Kynsaly from the prior for 20 marks, the reason of the charge being so high being that he had married a daughter of Robert FitzEustace, knight, lord of Ballicotlan, without licence from the prior. He did homage at the high altar in presence of Walter Euers, gent., Richard Tirrell, Thomas Petyte, Robert Commyñ, and others, May, 1489. He is still in occupation. "Insuper conclusum erat per justiciarium Bermyngham et Johannem Esterete eodem anno quod dominium (?) de Kynsaly et Mableyston tenuerunt et tenent de priore Ecclesie Christi per servicium militare."
- (2) Mableyston. Held by military service and the resumption of the land on the death of the lord: rent £3 6s. 8d. The proof of this is that on

¹ The date given is 17 Edward IV (1478), which is inconsistent with the following date. In Christ Church Deeds, 307, the year is 16 Edward IV.

the death of Richard Terrell, the lord, in April, 1485, his son and heir, Peter Tirrell, bought the lands from prior Thomas Harrold for 8 marks, and did homage in May, in presence of John Esterete, Robert Blanchefeld, Thomas Petyte, Sir Richard Skyrrett, and Sir Thomas Fyche.

(3) Ballyscadan. The lord of Tobbyrsowelle, Myleston, and Kylloghyr pays rent for these three villas respectively of 20s., 13s. 4d., and 13s. 4d., with suit of court of himself and his tenants, and homage on the death of a lord. Richard Goldyng, the lord, died July, 1476, and his son and heir, Henry Goldynge, paid prior Thomas Harrold 7 marks, and did homage in a full court at the vicar's manse at Ballyscadan, Henry Row, clerk, being then seneschal there, in presence of John Esterete, John FitzRoberte, l'eter Prowtefot, Thomas Rede, Sir Thomas Leynagh, vicar, and others.

In the date "Easter Term" is crossed out. The year is also described as 5 Henry VII, which fixes the date as before 31 August.

f. 59°. 58. [1.] Testament of William de Stafford. 16 April, 1282. Made before his departure for the Holy Land; contains the following legacies: The altar and fabric of St. Nicholas' Church, 2s. each; the fabric of St. Michael's Church, 2s.; the fabric of Holy Trinity, 10s.; the friars minor of Dublin, a mark; the sick of the Hospital of St. John, Newgate, & mark; the lights of B.V.M. in Holy Trinity Church, & mark; the lepers of St. Laurence, 40d.; those of St. Stephen, 2s.; the fabric of the church of All Saints, a mark; the brethren of the Order of St. Augustine, 10s.; the brethren of the Sack, 2s.; Emma, his wife, the house next St. Nicholas' Church, which he had bought of Hugh le Draper; Clissota, his sister, the curtilage in St. Keuyin's parish, which Matthew Buket held in farm; the daughter of Laurence Unred, "filiole mee," three booths (seldas) in Bridge St.; William Abbot, his land in St. Keuin's parish next the way leading to the communia of St. Patrick's; the prior and convent, the land which he held from them in St. Michan's parish, namely, "Gargets Medis" and Salkoke; his wife, all his utensils, the land which he holds of the communia of Dublin, and the land which he holds from the canons of All Saints; William, son of Cadewely, 20s.; John, son of Richard de Exonia, 2 marks; Mariota, 10s.; Isabella, a widow, 4s.; Alice, daughter of William Palmer, 10s.; fabric of the Church of St. Patrick, 2s.; that of St. Kevin, 12d.; poor widows at the

¹ For another legacy to the brethren of the Sack see Christ Church Deeds, 106. This order was patronised by Lewis IX of France, who gave it a house on the Seine near St. Germain des Prés (Jean Sire de Joinville, Hist. de St. Louis. Ed. N. de Wailly, Paris, 1868, p. 259). But it fell under the provision of the Council of Lyons in 1274 against mendicant orders which had not received papal confirmation (Mansi, Cone. xxiv. 130), and became extinct early in the fourteenth century. It had betsee at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norwich, and probably elsewhere in England (Papal Letters ii. 20, 162, 434). But apart from these legacies there appears to be no evidence that it extended to Ireland.

discretion of the executors, 50s.; "Agoneti" (= Agnes) Comyn, daughter of William the tailor, 20s.; the daughter of the same, who was wife of William Dubher, 5s.; his wife for life, and at her death the lights of B.V.M. in Holy Trinity, 8s. a year out of the house of Hugh de Kersey in Gilleholmokis Street; his wife, and after her death the lights of B.V.M. in St. Michael's within the walls, 1 mark a year out of Richard Godhyne's house; William de Donnyngton, 5s.; poor girls about to be married, at the discretion of the executors, 50s.; the chaplain of St. Nicholas' Church, 12d.; the clerk of the same, 6d.; the chaplain of St Michael's, 12d.; Clissota's son, mark; the son of Johanna, wife of Walter, sergeant of St. Sepulchre's, & mark. The house in which he lived in High Street (magno vico), in St. Michael's parish, is to be sold by the executors, and the proceeds distributed at the discretion of his wife, for the good of his and her souls and the souls of others, among pious places and poor friends in the archdeaconry of Dublin. residue of his goods is to go to his wife. The executors are Laurence Unred, William Abbot, and Emma his wife—nothing to be done by them without the consent of the last named.

The certificate of William Vale, clerk, official of the diocese and notary public, follows.

59. [li.] Award of arbitrators between prior Richard Skyrrett and the 7 August, 1500. convent of Holy Trinity, and prior Nicholas Lawles, and the convent of All Saints, about tithes of fish caught in Ampālyffy near le Stayn.

f. 60.

The arbitrators, Master John Vale, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, and Master John Stanton, notary public, gave judgment in St. Laurence's Chapel in Holy Trinity Church, in favour of the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, at whose request Robert Lynn, notary public, drew up this instrument.

Ends: "His tunc testibus Willelmo Hassard canonico dicte ecclesie cathedralis, Willelmo Lawles capellano, Thoma Walsh clerico, Johanne Blundell, Ricardo Walsh, et Ricardo Clawle, laicis."

Certificate of John Mulghan, clerk of Dublin Diocese, notary public, follows.

60. [lii.] Concerning the procurations payable by the prior and convent 7 February, 1390. of Holy Trinity to the Archbishop. f. 61.

Archbishop Robert (de Wikeford) reduces the amount payable by the priory at his annual visitations to the original sum of 10 marks on account of its poverty, £10 having been charged in more recent times. The year is also given as the fourteenth of the Archbishop's consecration,

Notarial certificate of John Mulghan, clerk of Dublin Diocese, follows. In Christ Church Deeds, 254 (with names of witnesses).

61. [liii.] Concerning the same matter.

27 February, 1421. Archbishop Richard (Talbot) further reduces the procurations of the priory of Holy Trinity to 5 marks a year. The instrument is drawn by John Bryis, notary public; the year is also given as the third of

The notarial certificate of John Mulghan, clerk of Dublin Diocese, follows. In Christ Church Deeds, 276.

A note directs attention to the further reduction made by Archbishop Richard (Talbot), no. 6 above. The form of procedure there described is identical with that described in nos. 60, 61, of which our summary is less full.

62. [liv.] On the election of a prior of Holy Trinity.

10 April, 1348. Edward III, in letters patent dated at Westminster, gives inspeximus of his letter in the Close Roll, which—after stating that the priors were elected by the canons without royal licence being asked or assent given, that the temporalities of the priory were not taken into the King's hand during vacancy until 19 Edward II (1325-6), when, on the resignation of the prior, the escheator, Walter de la Dulle (sic), took them into the King's hand, but afterwards restored them to the sub-prior, on condition that he would render account if they proved to belong to the King; that lately on a vacancy occurring similar proceedings took place; that the King had ordered inquiry to be made; and that no evidence was forthcoming which justified the seizure of the temporalities—confirmed the ancient customs. Dated, Westminster, 4 April, 1348.

Notarial certificate of John Mulghan, clerk of Dublin Diocese, follows. Compare Christ Church Deeds, 220, 231, 237.

63. [lv.] Account of the Riding of the Franchises of Dublin. f. 65.

1488. Thomas Meyler, mayor, Willam Englysh and Robert Boys, Bailiffs, and the Aldermen and "comenys" rode the franchises 4 September, 4 Henry VII, proceeding by the following route: Through the Dammys Gate and by the long stone of the Stayne along Ampūlyffy, leaving All Hallous on the right to Ryngis ende: thence "to Clar' Rade, in englysh the cler rode for shippis which is now called Pole Begge, and from that to Remelañ, now called the Bar Fote, and so estward uppon the strone on the south side as fer as a man moght ride and caste a sper' in to the see." There William Walsh, "a yeman," rode into the water at low tide and cast a spear into the sea. They then returned to the "blak stane" east of

the Archbishop's consecration.

Myrrionge (Merrion), and leaving Mirryonge on the right went westward "over a mere" "to our Lady well" and the gate of Smothiscourte, "and so about the grene and over the ford of Danabroke" (the town and church being on the left) and by the highway to Kylmagergan, west of Dannabroke, and by the "streyght wey" to St. Kevynes gate; then northward to "the lane that the cros of stone ys in, and because the dyche of that lane was faste they brake a shard and put men over the dyche and went throw the lane to the hy wey be este seynt Pulcris," and keeping St. Patrick's close on the left "they came tyll an old lane runyng faste to the north side of the chauntor is orchard or hagard place, and throw an orchard that sum tyme belonged to Thomas Snertirby," and through the gardens to a house north of the house in which John Arbour formerly lived. They went through that house into the street and through the street southwards to William Englysh's house, and through it and over the roof of another house, and through the gardens to the Combe, "and owte at the Combe gate" to Cowe lane, and thence to Carnaclommgymethe by Dolfynesberne. Then back by the Irne dam and left it on the right "as men rideth to the cros dyche in the lane as they goth from Dulyñ to Kylmaynan" and so to the Bowbirge, and through an arch of that bridge, and through the water of Camoke-riding on the prior of Crychurches land—to "an acre of Gargets medues," leaving that acre to the south, and rode over the Camoke westward, "for to that place came the watur of Amplyffy in old tyme"; then westward leaving the "tyllyng land" of Kylmaynan on the left, and part of the meadow on the right, till they reached the narrowest part of the meadow. They then turned northward, and crossed Amplyffy to the west end of "Elynhore is medue," "for that is called ye ford of Kylmahenoke, for the hyll that is now called the hill of Isolds fante of old tyme was called Kylmahenokis hyll." Then by a bush "in the slade by the hyeway" they took counsel, "and they said that ther was an acre be north Elynhoore is medue that shold be comeyn of the which the priour of Kylmaynan receveth the rente. And so sum of them rid ouer the north side of that acre and sum ouer the south syde and met togadyr in the gibbett slade and lefte Knok ne caoke in the chartre wryttyn and now called Hennokmakenok" on the right, and so to the "priour of Crichurch is lessowe," north of the gallows, and through it and Sharpis Parke, leaving the Erber on the right, to the highway; then northwards along it to the "priour of Crychurch is berne" and over Russelis Parke "to the berne's end." "And John Savage, cittezayn, and Richard Whyte, on of the masebereres to the mayr, was send by the mayr and his brethern to trye how the francheis went, and they put a man throw the wyndow ouer a laddyr into the berne flore, and ther lyeth a ston in the myddis of the flore betwix both the franches of the

toun and the prioris francheis." From that stone they went eastward "over the old kyll," through Christ Church orchards, to the gardens of the green, which were left on the right, and so to the highway leading to Glasnevyng, "and so owt of that as the chartyr maketh mencyon where the gallowse was of old tyme betwix the Abbote of Seynt Mary Abbay is land on the este side and the Priour of Chrichurchis lands on the west side"; thence northward to Glaskoynok and over the highway leading to Drysshok, leaving the stone well on the left, and thence southward to the highway leading to Ballyboght, and by the gate of Ballibogt to the river Tulkan by the bridge of Ballibogt, crossed the river and went southwards along it to the sea, then westward along Amplyffy to St. Mary's Abbey, leaving it on the right, till they reached the stone by the water side, west of the Abbey. Here the Abbot and convent protested that they "shold have riddyn be west the Abbay and so forth to the see": which the mayor and his brethren denied.

In English.

Printed in Gilbert's Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, i. 492.

64. [Ivi.] Ordinance of Sir Robert Ufford, justiciary, concerning matters 18 November, 1267. in dispute between the Archbishop (Fulk de Saunford) and the citizens.

f. 66.

The award, made in the presence of Vincent Tabernarius, mayor, John de Saunford, the Archbishop's attorney, Master Thomas de Chaddesworth, his official, William de Caversham, his seneschal, and others, was as follows:—

1. If a man commit a public "peccatum," for a first offence he is to give satisfaction by a money payment; for a second, to be beaten round the church; for a third, to be beaten before a procession on a solemn day to Holy Trinity or St. Patrick's; for a fourth, to be expelled from the city. 2. A general inquisition, as to public "peccata" only, is to be held once a year: only in case of great necessity a second or third time. 3. No citizen shall be taken out of the deanery of the city by the Archbishop's officials.

In the Liber Albus of the City of Dublin f. 15. (See Gilbert, Records, i. 99.)

65. [lvii.] Another copy of No. 14, crossed out. f. 66. 1251 × 1255.

66. [lvii.] Ordinance of Archbishop Luke about the election of Archbishopsa. 1232. of Dublin. f. 67.

He decides that the two chapters are to meet at Holy Trinity and to elect an archbishop unanimously. Other disputes, involving the nuns of Grâce Dien, are also settled, and the churches are bound in £200 to obey the ordinance.

In Christ Church Deeds, 42, Liber Niyer No. 24.

Such an award would probably be given near the beginning of Luke's episcopate. Hence the date assigned above.

67. John Cusake of Dublin grants his lands, &c., in Dublin, and in 6 October, 1435. Lercorr, Dengyn, Clonman, and Clonbirtan in the parish of Lercorr to his lawfully begotten heirs, and failing them to his brother Robert Cusake and his heirs, and failing them to Thomas Fitz Wyllam, Dundrom, and his heirs, and failing them to the monastery and convent of Holy Trinity.

6.67.

68. Richard Skyrrett, Prior of Holy Trinity, and Thomas Rochfort, 12 July, 1511. Dean of St. Patrick's, request Nicholas Roch, mayor, and John FitzSymon and Robert Fawcouner, bailiffs, to put the prior and convent of Holy Trinity in possession of two houses near the high cross of Dublin, in the parish of St. Nicholas Within, bequeathed to them by John Bowrke for prayers for his and his parents' souls for ever.

f. 68.

A note, in a later hand, states that this deed was enrolled in the memorandum rolls in the Custom House, 6 October, 1511.

In Christ Church Deeds, 390.

69. Deed concerning Stalorgan.

f. 68.

1227 × 1244. Reymund de Karreu grants to the prior and canons of Holy Trinity in honour of the holy cross in that Church, the Church of Stathlorgane and the land about it called Athnekyl.

Ends: "Hiis testibus Galfrido de Turvill archidiacono Dubliñ, Philippo de Karru clerico, Roberto de Turvill, Ricardo capellano, Johanne de Trum clerico et multis aliis."

The limits of date are fixed by the mention of Turville as archdeacon of Dublin.

70. Deed concerning Lispobel.

f. 68.

c. 1200. Philip de Nugent, with the consent of his heirs, grants to Holy Trinity Church and the cross erected in the same two acres of meadow and half an acre of land to build a house near the river on the west side, with common of pasture of his entire holding of Lispobel.

Ends: "Hiis testibus Adam persona fratre meo, Willelmo de Ralehe, Elia Pirrou, Rogero Brun, Elia de Lamua, Audoeno Brun, Roberto cambicore."

In Christ Church Deeds, 11.

The date may be inferred from the names of the witnesses. The last three occur also in Christ Church Deeds 13, which dates from the episcopate of Simon, bishop of Meath (1194-1224); two of them appear ib. 15, temp. Archbishop John Comyn (1182-1212). On the other hand, Robert the money-changer signs at least as late as 1230 (ib. 50).

71. Deed concerning Blakeston.

f. 69.

20 November, 1514. John Cashell, prior of St. John Baptist of Athirde,

grants to Richard Skyrrett, prior, and the convent of Holy Trinity 10s. yearly out of Blakeston, Co. Loueth.

In Christ Church Deeds, 402.

72. Grant of Henry III to Holy Trinity Church. f. 69'.

4 February, 1251. In exchange for the cantred at Occonach, which King John had granted to Holy Trinity Church, Henry grants three carucates, 89 acres, and a mill at Balliscadan, with the homage and service of Robert Passel, William, son of Milo, and Andrew Passel, tenants in that villa; one carucate, 12 acres of which Walter le Blund and his partners are farmers; a carucate which William, son of Gilleberan, farmed; and four acres which Matthew Cristin farmed in the same villa—the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's to receive half the issues out of the aforesaid lands from the prior and canons, saving the tithes which the latter were accustomed to receive from Baliscadan church and necessary expenses.

Ends: "Hiis testibus Ricardo comite Cornubiensi fratre nostro, Johanne de Plessetis, comite Warr⁹, Johanne filio Galfridi Justiciario nostro Hibernie, Mauricio filio Geroldi, Johanne Maunsell preposito [space], magistro Willelmo de Kylkenny archidiacono Coventrensi, Roberto Waleran, Stephano Bauthan, Johanne de Geres, Johanne de Frethorn, Johanne Cuhaud et aliis. Dat' per manum nostram apud Wodstoke," &c.

In Reg. Alan. ii. 107, and Crede Mihi 89, in both cases without names of witnesses.

73. Note in a later hand.

f. 69v.

c. 1580. "Anno regni salutis 1575 ingens plaga fuit in ciuitate Dubliñ qua interierunt, ut fertur, tria milia hominum ad minus, a festo natiuitatis sancti Johannis Babtiste usque ad festum natiuitatis Xⁱ."

74. Grant of custody.

f. 70.

18 March, 1553. Sir Thomas Lockwode, Dean, and the chapter of Holy Trinity, grant to John Fynles (also spelt Fingles, and Finglas) of Tippersowle, gentleman, for a sum of money, custody, wardship, and marriage during nonage of James Goldinge, son and heir of Peter Goldinge of Tobbersowle, gentleman, deceased.

In English.

Compare Christ Church Deeds, 1235, and above no. 57.

75. Lease of an orchard.

f. 70^v.

S1 October, 1530. William Hasarte, prior, and the convent of Holy Trinity, lease to Thomas Stewns of Dublin, merchant, for 41 years, at a rent of 12s. a Year, an orchard or garden, with a lane entering it "against St. Frances Church dore in Saint Frances Strete," bounded on the east by the ground of

St. John Baptiste without the New Gate, on the west by Cow Lane, on the south by the ground of John FitzSimon, merchant, on the north by the ground of Sir John Plunket of Bewly, knight.

In English.

76. Inventory of the goods of Thomas Sneterby, gentleman, and Katherine 6 May, 1463. Nangle, his wife.

f. 72.

He has in gold and silver, £10 4s. 2d.; in jewels, 40s.; 8 cows worth 32s.; 80 sheep, 40s.; 6 cart horses, 30s.; 2 horses, 40s.; 10 pigs, 10s.; in grain, 40s.; 3 basins with 2 ewers, 6s. 8d.; 6 pairs of blankets and 8 of sheets, 13s.; 2 little pans, 3s.; 3 candlesticks, 12d.; household utensils, 10s.; 23 acres of wheat and oats, £6; 24 acres of oats, £10 8s. His debts are: to his servants for wages, £5 8s.; Hugh Galvan, 16s.; his smith, 3s. 6d.; John Fyan, merchant, 11s. 8d.; John Bennet, 15s. 8d.; Richard Parker, 14d.; Whyttakyr, 22d. There is due to him: by David Ludlow, 5 marks; by Nicholas Kernan, 6s. 8d.; by others, sums set out in his rent-book.

77. Will of the foregoing Thomas Sneterby.

1463. He is to be buried in the monastery of B.V.M. near Dublin. He makes bequests as follows: To the monastery of B.V.M., for prayers for his soul and the soul of his first wife, Johanna Seynt Leger, the farm of

Robert Bragan in Athyrde; to Holy Trinity Church, Blakeston; to Tavelaght Church, Cusakeston, near Scrin, and 40s. "ad fabricam crucis"; to Athyrde Church, Mapardeston, formerly bequeathed thereto by the above Johanna; to Philip Bermyngham, Spiceres Rewe in Athirde; to his wife, Katherine, Burgeys Innys in Athirde, for life, and her dowry; to his servant, Thomas de Bolton, 40s., yearly rent from Athirde, for his life; to Reginald Benet "castrum cum manso iacent in Athirde," and 10 marks yearly rent out of mills formerly left to him by the above Johanna. All his other tenements, and the residue of his lands of Athirde, with the mills, to remain with his heirs. He appoints Katherine, his wife, and John Benet, executors.

Compare Christ Church Deeds, 298.

78. Lease granted by Thomas Lockwood, Dean of Holy Trinity. f. 73 $^{\circ}$.

17 October, The Lease is granted to Master (?) Thomas Appman of a 1544 × 1564. benefice in the County of Limbricke for 21 years, at a yearly rent of £10.

In English.

The year lies between the appointment of Lockwood as Dean (December, 1543), and his death before April, 1565).

79. Note as follows: "The pollow part of ye Kill of ye Grang of Clonken containings by estimation seven or eight akers or ther aboute knowen to be so by Wm. Clinton of Burkeston of ye parrishe of Ballinagarry." f. 73.

CALENDAR OF LIBER NIGER.

1. Notes.

f. 1 and unnumbered leaves.

Include extracts from Scripture, patristic writers, and Seneca, various cribblings, and the following statements:—(1) On 18 January, 1317, he Earl of Ulster was imprisoned in the castle by Robert de Notingham and the community of Dublin, and he was liberated by Sir Roger de Mortuo Mari "post prandium" 17 May. On the same day John Pecock Prior (of Christ Church) was arrested by the sheriff, Reri FitzJohn, for receiving eloms at Anntren by brother Adam de Collebi. (2) Humphrey Cissor gave to Holy Trinity Church a third part of the house of Thomas de Couentre.

2. List of feoffors and founders of "the Metropolitan Church of the 1285. Province of Dublin." f. 1.

Names and Benefactions.

Walter Fitz Yvo, land in St. Michael's Parish [Christ Church Deeds, 50]. Roger Farindon, land to the east of St. Michael's Church.

William Cordanarius and Roger his brother, land in same parish, which Walter Castulknok holds in fee for 2s. a year.

King H(enry), land which belonged to Vincent Moinwrench.

Walter Vernun, baker, 12s. a year.

Slany, wife of Gillepatrick, rent of 12d. on the Polla [Christ Church Deeds, 88.]

Audoen Brun, land in the Parish of St. John of Bouthe Street.

Elyas Fitz Adam, rent of 2s. out of land opposite the church of St. John the Evangelist.

Roger, son of Roger Oweyn, land in Bouthe Street which formerly belonged to Grifin le Vale.

Helyas de Lamua, 1 mk. rent in Bouthe Street.

Philip de Wythio, & mk. rent of land adjoining our cemetery.

udoen Broun [and Susanna inserted over line], 10s. rent of land in Bouth Street.

illiam of Cornwall, land near our cemetery.

lliam Leynach and Scolastica his wife, messuage in Fyschame Street.

offrey de Selewude, land in Bouthe Street.

ert de Bedeford, rent of 5s.

rolas de Bedeford, release of all his lands within the walls of Dublin.

s de Muta, 1 mk. rent from land near the river bank.

- Gilbert Birrel, 10 mks. rent, near the river bank.
- Alexander de Cestria, land in St. Brigid's Parish on the Polle, near our land [Christ Church Deeds, 4].
- Brethren of St. John outside New Gate, release of 1 mk. which the recovered of us by sentence, 1282.
- W., son of the King of England, all the ecclesiastical benefices which becan obtain in Ireland by gift of H(enry), King of England.
- Thomas FitzNorman, 40d. out of a workshop "until he provides it from another source as appears in what follows."
- Thomas FitzNorman, ½ mk. rent of a holding in Cooks' Street which held "qualecon."
- Constancius Blaer (?), part of a burgage opposite the west door of the church, and 2s. rent in same place which he sold to the church by another charter.
- Peter Paraventura, 3s. 4d. rent out of a holding in Rupelle Street, which—
 Master Hugh de Kyngesbury held from him in chief at same rent
 [Christ Church Deeds, 117].
- Hugh Kyngesbury aforesaid, ½ mk. rent from three shops which he bought from Alan FitzRoger [Christ Church Deeds, 512] for lights in the infirmary. He also left by will a stone house with cellars in Rochel Street [cf. Christ Church Deeds, 509].
- Thomas (Fitz) Norman aforesaid, of Lastrande, rents of 1 mk. and 6s. and 10s. 8d. in Rochel Street.
- Geoffrey de Turvilla, 30s. rent of land on the Strond to be received from Maurice de Strigul.
- Mabilia Fitz Henry, a stone quarry between St. Mary's Church and the Abbey.
- Adam Wrokeshale.
- Scolastica, daughter of Vincent Coupun, land in St. Nicholas' Street [cf. Christ Church Deeds, 473].
- Cristin the priest, son of Edricus, 12d. rent next St. Nicholas' Church.
- Cristin the priest, parson of St. Nicholas' Church, all his patrimony in Dublin [Christ Church Deeds, 39].
- Turphin, brother of foregoing, land of his patrimony in Sutor Street [Christ Church Deeds, 39].
- Felicia, formerly wife of Ralph de Leycestre, release of one-third of two messuages in Rupell Street.
- Elias Burel, bequeathed 10 mks. and 2½ mks. out of a tenement which belonged to Mabilla de Stokys, and ½ mk. out of his rents in the city of Dublin [cf. Christ Church Deeds, 178].

[6]

Adam Fitz Ralph of Kyldare, land to the west of the church.

Richard de St. Alban, chaplain, 32d. rent out of a place opposite the church.

Arfyn FitzArdor and his heir, all his land before the west door of the church.

Adam Superman (?), land and buildings in the parish of St. Martin, near the lane leading to that church, from which of old he received 20s.

Gilbert Lyvet and others, the stone hall and cellars outside the king's gate, which is now beyond Winetavern Street [Christ Church Deeds, 47].

Nicholas Fallithewolle, a burgage which Adam Louestoke holds in Cooks' Street, at a rent of 20s. [cf. Christ Church Deeds, 515.]

John Harold, 1 mk. rent in St. Werburgh's parish [Christ Church Deeds, 18].

Katherine, wife of John le Gront, bequeathed a rent of 3s. payable by the heirs of Eynulf, clerk in St. Olave's parish, and the land lying opposite thereto [Christ Church Deeds, 106].

Robert Ruffus, the land between the lordship of the late Helias Wacy and the land of Hugh the noble.

Alexander Poke, release of land on the north of St. Michael's Church in Gylmeholmok Street ["nunc vicus Sti. Michaelis": 17th cent. hand].

William Stafford, bequeathed 8s. rent for lights of St. Mary in Bod Street. Henry Peyntur, bequeathed 12s. rent in Castle Street, in the Loremery. Hawis Sumin, bequeathed 4s. rent, "de dono eiusdem."

This document cannot be earlier than 1282, since it refers to an event of that year. Several of the instruments summarized in it, and still preserved among the Christ Church Deeds, are of a date but little earlier; but there appears to be no reason for putting any of them later. The list was therefore probably compiled not long after 1282.

3. Memorandum. f. 2.

Firewood bought for the store out of money (?) ("deñ") of the portion of brother Robert de Lok: 58 lod' at 3\dd. each, 16s. 11d.; 43 at 2\dd., 9s. 3d. (sic).

4. Epistle of Pope Alexander (III) to the Sultan of Iconium. f. 2^v
1169. A fragment. Printed in full in the Works of Petrus Blesensis,
Moguntiae, 1600, p. 513.

The date is that assigned to it by Matthew Paris (ib. Praef. sig. o, 1).

5. Safe-conduct from Henry la Ware for "W. de tali loco," travelling on c. 1305. the business of the Church, for one year. f. 3.

Dated Sunday after the Assumption of B. V. M. (year not given).

B.L.A. PROC., SECT. XXVII., SECT. 9,

6. Charter of Thomas de Canntetone.

f. 3.

1219 x 1228. With the consent of Agnes his wife he grants to Holy Trinity Church and the Holy Cross therein, the Church de Martre and de Admiele and half the Church of Cenebacht or Connebacht, and all ecclesiastical bene fices of lands of which he may hereafter get possession.

Ends: "Hiis testibus magistro Daniel priore sancti Iohannis extra Novam Portam Dublin, Magistro Philippo de Bray, Magistro Thoma cancellario sancti Patricii, Iohanne de Thyne, Thoma Blueth, H. de Tyne et multis aliis."

Philip de Bray and Thomas de Castello became respectively Precentor and Chancellor of St. Pstrick's in 1219. Both of them seem to have vacated office—probably by death—in or before 1228. Thus the date is determined.

7. Charter of the same.

f. 3.

1219 × 1228 (f) With consent of same, he grants to same two burgages with 24 acres in the villa of Admel.

Ends: "Hiis testibus Iohanne de Tyne, H. de Tyn, Thoma Blueth, Willelmo Solenile (?), Domino M. (?) de Breth vicecomite &c."

That the date is about the same as that of No. 6 is indicated by the principals and three of the witnesses being identical in the two.

8. Charter of G., Bishop of Ardfert.

f. 3.

 1225×1228 . Grants to the same all ecclesiastical benefices of Dunloy and Kilimterawith (?) in his right as patron and diocesan.

Ends: "Hiis testibus domino H. Dubliñ archiepiscopo, W. decano sancti Patricii, magistro P. de Bray precentore, Waltero, Hugone, Willelmo canonicis sancti Trinitatis et multis aliis et Florencio archidiacono Artfertensi."

The date is fixed by the fact that Gilbert was Bishop of Ardfert, 1225-1235, and Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, 1213-1228.

9. Charter of John de Curci.

f. 3^{*}.

 1182×1186 . Grants to the same the lands of Inislochaculin, Lesseum-malsag, Ganimor, and half of Ballimeicdimen.

Ends: "Hiis testibus Johanne Dublinensi archiepiscopo, Hamone de Maci, Willelmo de Curci, Adam Camerario, Amauri de Obda, Willelmo de Marisco, Osberto Trussel, Macrobio archidiacono, Cristino decano, Rogero capellano, Johanne Cumin, Jacobo pincerna, Henrico priore de Lilisluba et multis aliis."

In Christ Church Deeds, 10.

This belongs to a group of documents which have many names of witnesses in common. Others are found in Christ Church Deeds, 468 c, d, Reg. Alan. ii. 647, 657, 69. If Macrobius was Archdencon of Dublin, they must be dated not later than 1186. The earlier limit in this case is the elevation of John Comyn to the See of Dublin (1182).

10. Charter of Geoffrey de Marreys.

f. 37.

c. 1200. Grants to Holy Trinity Church, out of reverence to the holy cross therein, three knights' fees in Cunnach of his first acquisition in that land, saving their tenements to those to whom prior Robert had granted tenements.

Ends: "Hiis testibus Ricardo de Aubemare, Willelmo Hose (?), Radulpho de Roshale, Radulpho de Munchaneye et multis aliis."

Robert seems to have been prior of Holy Trinity before 1192. Geoffrey de Marreis received a grant of land in Ireland as early as 1200 (Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1171-1251, DOS. 139, 140.

11. Of the coming of the Normans into England.
c. 1210. Begins with Rollo or Robert, first duke of Normandy, and ends with the accession of King John.

Cf. Crede Mihi, 1137.

12. Of the Provinces of England.

f. 5.

Begins: "Anglia habet in longitudine dece miliaria a feusewya7 flete, qui locus est xli miliaria ultra sancti Michaelis in Cornubia usque ad Catenesse ultra Scociam."

- 13. Concerning a Council of all the magnates of Ireland. f. 6.

 1297. Describes the summoning of a parliament, consisting of the magnates and two elected knights, together with the sheriff or seneschal from each county and liberty. Among those present were Thomas (St. Leger), Bishop of Meath, Nicholas (Chevre), Bishop of Leighlin, Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, Richard Taff, sheriff of Dublin, William de Hatche, sheriff of Louth, Walter Trouman, seneschal of Trym, Walter de la Haye and Eustace le Poer, elected by the community of the liberty of Kilkenny, George de Rupe, elected by the community of the county of Limerick. Nicholas (Mac Maelisa), Archbishop of Armagh, and others were represented by proctors. William (de Bermingham), Archbishop of Tuam, and Hugh de Leis, one of those elected for the county of Limerick, came not.
- (1) The county of Dublin being confused, and its parts being too remote from one another (viz., Ulster, Meath, and afterwards Leinster, with the valley of Dublin, &c.), it was agreed that there should be a sheriff in Ulster, as well for the crosses of Ulster as for carrying out executions in the liberty of Ulster, when defect should be found in the seneschal of the liberty, and that the sheriff of Dublin should no more interfere in Ulster. Also, that Meath should be a separate county—including the liberty of Trym and the lands of Theobald de Verdon and all the lands of the crosses in Meath—and that the sheriff thereof should hold his comitatus at Kenles the Thursday

after the comitatus of Dublin, and that Theobald de Verdon should do suit for himself and his tenant Almaricus de Sancto Amando at this comitatus. Also, that Kildare should be a county instead of being a liberty dependent on Dublin.

- (2) Because certain persons holding lands both in the Irish marches and in peaceful places, live in the latter, leaving the former waste and undefended, to the detriment of their English inhabitants, it is agreed that said persons shall keep wards in their march lands to hinder depredations, and that if necessary they shall be compelled to do so by taking their lands into the King's hand. And, because depredators often escape on account of the inhabitants not having horses to follow them, each tenant of 20 librates of land in the marches or elsewhere shall keep a mailed horse, with other arms, always in readiness at his mansion, and other tenants hobbies and other horses according to their means. Those who live outside Ireland shall leave there sufficient forces for the defence of their holdings and tenants in case of war. In the event of depredations being committed in any district, all the inhabitants shall join with the sufferers in pursuing the robbers. All persons failing to do so shall be punished and shall be compelled to make restitution of goods lost or injured, in proportion to the extent of their negligence.
- (3) No one shall lead an army outside his own lands without licence from the chief justiciary. Penalties similar to those in (2).
- (4) No one shall have more kernes or idle men than he is able and willing to maintain at his own cost. Offenders in this matter shall be punished, and their idle men shall be imprisoned during the pleasure of the King's court, and before release shall give pleages of future good behaviour.
- (5) Since it is the custom of the Irish when they are at war with their English neighbours to make a truce with one part of them in order that they may more effectively make war upon the rest, and then when they have destroyed the latter to break truce with the former, it is agreed that no one shall make truce with Irish who are out of peace, unless it be universal. Penalties as in paragraph (2) above.
- (6) None shall molest the Irish of any place to whom truce has been granted, so long as they keep the peace. Offenders shall be severely punished and shall make restitution to the Irish affected.
- (7) The lands of the marches having been frequently devastated by sudden attacks of the Irish when the justiciary was in remote parts, and few or none were found to resist them, it is agreed that in such cases all those who live in the invaded county or liberty and their neighbours on the confines of their marches shall together resist the Irish and maintain war against them at their own cost till they return to peace or obtain truce from magnates delegated for that purpose.

- (8) Since the Irish have great facility in escaping after depredations owing to the density of their woods and the depth of their morasses, the more so because the king's highway through the woods is often impassable, it is agreed that the lords of such woods and their tenants shall keep the highway open; the king or chief justiciary, if necessary, causing them to have aid in doing so from the whole adjacent district.
- (9) A similar enactment is made about the repairing and maintenance of causeways and bridges.
- (10) The whole community of Leinster, formerly a single liberty, is to unite for the purpose of levies and contributions and of making war upon the Irish.
- (11) Since the degenerate English affect Irish costume and, shaving part of their heads, let their hair grow long at the back, and call it "culan," so that Englishmen have been mistaken for Irish and have been slain, and enmity and rancour have been caused thereby, it is agreed that all Englishmen in Ireland shall conform to English customs in these matters, "nec amplius presumant auertere comes in colanum." The justiciary and sheriff and seneschal of each liberty are to compel obedience.
- (12) In each liberty and county where there are Irish inhabitants there shall be two magnates who, when the chief justiciary is in remote parts, may conclude truce with Irishmen who betake themselves to war; and they shall immediately report their acts to the justiciary.

Printed in the Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society (1846), p. 15, and Irish Statutes, 194, where the date is discussed.

- 14. Epistle of Aristotle to Alexander the Great, called "Secretum Secretorum." f. 8.
 - 15. Treatise on the Sibyl.

f. 16^{*}.

16. Beginning of a treatise on Purgatory.

f. 19.

The entire treatise appears below, no. 138.

17. Poem called "Imago Mundi."

13th century (?). In French.

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f. 20.

This has probably some connexion with the poem called L'Image du Monde, which was composed in the year 1245, though it is much shorter. See Carl Fant, L'Image du Monde, poème inédit du mille du xiiie siècle, in Upsala Universitets Ârsskrift, 1886, and Histoire Littéraire de la France, will 294.

18. Narrative, the sections of which are headed "De conceptione precursoris Domini," "De conceptione Saluatoris per Spiritum sanctum," "De ortu precursoris Domini," &c. f. 30°.

19. Charter of Henry II.

f. 32v.

- 1172×1189 . Confirms to Holy Trinity Church all its possessions granted before and since the coming of the English, as Archbishop Laurence (O'Toole) granted them.
 - 20. Charter of King John.

f. 32^v.

c. 1200. A grant to Holy Trinity Church in same terms as No. 19, but adding a list of the possessions of the Church.

Printed in Chartae 12, from Reg. Alan. ii. 175.

21. History of our Lord.

f. 34.

In French.

22. Versified account of an embassy from Edward (I) of England t Philip (IV) of France.

The ambassadors were William Gainsburg, a "Jacobyn" (i.e., Franciscan) and Hugh de Mamescestre.

In French.

The date is fixed by the fact that a safe conduct for Gaynesburgh was issued 24 August, 1294 _ Cal. of Pat. Rolls, Edward I, 1292-1301, p. 85.

23. Agreement between W., Bishop of Glendalough, and William Marescall, 1207 \times 1212. Earl of Pembroke, as to three carucates of land.

The Earl is to grant to the bishop in the fee of Trst'madoun and (uel) in the fee of Moncolumpkilne and (uel) in Kilcovym, three carucates before the approaching Michaelmas, of which he had the earl's charter in the first year of his coming into Ireland (A.D. 1207).

Cf. Crede Mihi, f. 94.

William Piro, Bishop of Glendalough, died in or before 1212 (Reg. Alan. ii. 182).

24. Same as Liber Albus, no. 66.

f. 64.

c. 1232.

- 25. Ordinance of Archbishop Luke, that laymen of whom certain rectors 1230 × 1255. in his diocese had complained that they withheld tithes on merchandise, fishing, &c., were to be compelled to pay them.
- 26. Charter of Archbishop L(uke) as to jurisdiction and absence of 11 Aug., 1236 or 1237. f. 64^v.

Printed in Mason's St. Patrick's, p. vi, from Dignitas Decani, p. 9, with names of witnesses and date, both of which are here omitted.

27. Confirmation by Archbishop L(uke) to St. Patrick's of the churches c. 1250. of Kyliscopsantan and Kilbride. f. 647.

These churches had been previously granted by the same Archbishop to

A(ndrew) de Menavia as a prebend. They are now, on his death, transferred to the chapter of St. Patrick's.

Also in Dignitas Decani 53, and Reg. Alan. ii. 196.

The date is implied to have been somewhat late in the episcopate of Luke (1230-1255).

28. Charter of Archbishop L(uke) as to residence of canons of St. 8 May, 1247. Patrick's.

f. 64^v.

They are to repair to the church and take the oaths within a year of their appointment.

Printed in Chartae 26, from Reg. Alan. ii. 108, and in Crede Mihi, 103. It is also in Dignitas Decani, 50. It is here undated.

29. Concession by Archbishop John (Comyn) of the newly built mill of 1186 x 1212. William de Wavill to the canons of St. Patrick's, a life pension of 2 marks a year being reserved thereout for Laurence, parson of Tauelach.

[f. 65.]

Copied from the Liber Niger in Dignitas Decani 230. Also in Reg. Alan. ii. 197.

The date is between the foundation of the collegiate church of St. Patrick (1186) and the death of Archbishop Comyn.

30. Grant by William Mareschall, Earl of Pembroke, of his rights in the 1812 × 1228. land of Invercheli in Leinster to the church of Dublin, f. 65.

The land is described as "de tenemento meo versus venerabilem patrem meum H. Dei gratia Dubliñ archiepiscopum et Almauricum de Bellafago." Also in Reg. Alan. ii. 106.

31. Grant by John, Earl of Merton (sic), of a market at Swords for 15 26 July, 1193. days (in the text 8 days) about the feast of St. Columpkilne, to Archbishop John (Comyn).

f. 65.

Printed in Chartae 7 (from Reg. Alan. ii. 24) and Crede Mihi 87. It is here undated.

32. Grant by John, Earl of Mereton, of the Church of Trim [i.e., Crumlin] \$4 July, 1193. to St. Patrick's as a prebend. f. 65.

Printed in Crede Mihi 87, 89°. Also in Reg. Alan. ii. 118. The date is taken from Crede Mihi.

33. Grant by John, Earl of Merton, to Archbishop John (Comyn) of a 1185×1199 . market at Balimor every Saturday. f. 65° .

Printed in Crede Mihi 87. Also in Reg. Alan. ii. 24.

34. Grant by John, Earl of Mereton, to Archbishop John (Comyn) of ll85 × 1199. half a cantred of the Abbacy of Glendalough, near the Archbishop's castle of Balymor.

f. 65.

Printed in Crede Mihi 87. Also in Reg. Alan. ii. 23.

35. Confirmation by John, Earl of Mereton, to Archbishop John (Comy 22.)

1185 × 1199. of all his privileges. f. 65.

Printed in Crede Mihi 87. Also in Reg. Alan. ii. 24.

36. Grant by John, Lord of Ireland and Earl of Merton, to Archbishop 27 December, 1193. John (Comyn) of the Episcopate of Glendalough. f. 65.

A fragment, breaking off at the end of the page.

Printed in full in Crede Mihi 89, and (with names of witnesses) in Chartae 7 from Reg. Alan. ii. 25.

37. "Summa que vocatur Fet a saver." f. 66. An account of forms of pleadings in the King's Court.

In French.

38. Narrative of proceedings against the Templars before Pope 29 May, 1308. Clement V. f. 74.

The King petitions against the Templars by William de Vllers, Knight and LL.D. The charges made against them are given.

Compare Papal Letters, ii. 48, 59.

39. Award of the Archbishop of Tuam in regard to the union of the See 1213 × 1216. of Glendalough to Dublin. f. 76.

Recites the act of Papiron, Papal legate, who found the Bishop of Dublin ruling only within the walls of the city. He gave him the Pall and made Dublin the metropolis of the province, ordering that the diocese, in which both Dublin and Glendalough were situated, should be divided between the bishops, with the intention (as is believed) that Glendalough should become subject to Dublin on the death of the then Bishop. This would have taken place had it not been for the insolence of the Irish who had power in that district. Henry (II), hearing of the intention of the legate, confirmed the union of Glendalough to Dublin; so also did J(ohn), the present King of England, to John (Comyn), predecessor of the present archbishop. The church in the mountains, though held in much reverence, has been deserted for nearly forty years, and has become a den of thieves, insomuch that more homicides are committed in that valley than in any other part of Ireland, "propter desertum et vastam solitudinem."

In Christ Church Deeds, 20, and Reg. Alan. ii. 56.

The date is between the accession of Henry de Loundres as Archbishop (1213) and the death of King John.

¹ I.e., Be it known.

40. No. 39 repeated.

f. 77.

1313 × 1216. In the hand of Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Kildare.

41. Memorandum of indemnity on the election of John Aleyn, Dean of January, 1472. St. Patrick's, to the Archbishopric. f. 77v.

In the matter of an obligation entered into by John Reuers, for Aleyn, on the occasion of the election of the latter as Archbishop, to the amount of £100, the prior and convent were indemnified by the said John Aleyn, Archbishop elect, John Leche, chancellor, Richard Eustace, treasurer, William Helgyn, archdeacon of Glendalough, James Haket, prebendary of Tagonyll, Henry Whyte, citizen of Dublin, and Master Thomas Milton, netary public, in the presence of John Walshe, citizen of Dublin, Walter Ryane, chaplain, and others. Signed by John Bowland.

42. Fragment of treatise with the title "Genesis." f. 78.

The chapters are headed: "De creatione empirei celi et quatuor elementorum," "De primaria mundi confusione," "De opere prime diei," "De opere secunde diei." The treatise breaks off at the end of f. 78, a few lines below the last of these headings.

43. List of Archbishops of Dublin.

f. 78 marg.

- c. 1305. The list begins with Donatus and originally ended with Richard de Feringys. The next three archbishops are added by different hands.
- 44. Tables giving the dates of Septuagesima and Easter for a period of 532 years, 1280-1811.

 f. 79.
 - 45. Table for calculating the date of Septuagesima.

f. 88.

46. Table for calculating the date of Easter.

f. 88^v.

47. The fourth book of the Sentences of Peter Lombard.

f. 89.

48. Charter of Hugh Tyrel.

f. 93, marg.

1188. Grants to his son, Sir Richard Tyrel, his right in the tenement of Balligorman, which is contested by the prior and convent of Holy Trinity.

Dated 34 Henry. Ends: "Hiis testibus Dominis Willelmo de Frenis, Ricardo Tyrel fratre domini Hugonis Terel, &c."

Hugh Tyrel, and his son Richard, were both alive while John de Curci was Justiciary (1185-1189): see Chartularies, i. 125. This proves that the king mentioned in the dating clause was Henry II, not Henry III, whose 34th year was 1249-1250.

49. Referse of Richard, son and heir of Hugh Tyrel, to the prior and c. 1190 (?) canons of Holy Trinity, of two carucates of land at the grange, called Grangia Gilgorman, claimed by the latter to belong to the manor of Castrocnocke,

f. 98, marg.

For the date, see note on no. 48. · · · ·

50. Acknowledgment of Richard, son and heir of Hugh Tyrel, that he has received 10 marks from the prior and canons of Holy Trinity, in consideration of his release of the foregoing grange, near the "villa Ostmannorum." f. 94, marg.

Repeated below, no. 90.

For the date, see note on no. 48.

51. Confirmation by Hugh Hoysey, of certain lands to the Church of c. 1200. Holy Trinity. f. 94, marg.

The boundaries are defined thus: "a via regia que tendit ad Fineglas usque ad Athudamas. Et circum (?) Athudamas usque ad Ardneannaid usque ad vallem que est iuxta Kyllmolidoid et de Kyllmolidoid usque ad hampnem Annelypphy et cum Moyn agal per has divisas usque ad terram canonicorum et diuisas expressas in carta domini regis quam habeo."

Compare Christ Church Deeds, 195, 469.

52. Memorandum that Walter de Lacy gave to the Church of Holy Trinity, Clonbalymor and Dyrieskelide (?), in Meath.

f. 128, marg.

53. Fragment, repeated below, no. 101.

f. 150^v, marg.

- 54. Life of Albanus, King of Hungary, and extracts from lives of various saints. f. 151.
 - 55. History of the foundation of Holy Trinity Church. Repeated with variations, no. 140.

f. 160.

56. Various scribblings.

f. 162.

57. The Great Charter of Liberties of King John.

f. 1627.

15 June, 1215. Ends: "Datum per manum nostram in prato quod vocatur Rounemed, inter Wyndesore et Stanes xy die Junii anno regni nostri xvi° (sic)."

Printed in Statutes—Charters, 6.

58. Re-issue of the Charter of Liberties by Henry III. f. 165.

6 November, 1217. Ends: "Datum per manum venerabilis patris domini R(icardi de Marisco) Dunholmensis episcopi cancellarii nostri apud sanctum Paulum Londoniis vio die Novembris anno regni nostri secundo."

This charter differs considerably from the second (undated) re-issue of the Great Charter. See English Historical Review, July, 1907.

59. Charter of the Forest.

f. 166*.

6 November, 1217. Printed in Statutes—Charters, 20.

51

60. Statute of Merton.

f. 167*.

- 23 January, 1236. Printed in Statutes, i. 1. See also Irish Statutes, 27.
 - 61. Dictum de Kenilworth.

f. 166^{*}.

- 31 October, 1266. Printed in Statutes, i. 12.
 - 62. Statute of Marlborough.

f. 170.

- 18 Movember, 1267. Printed in Statutes, i. 19. See Irish Statutes, xiii.
- 63. Letter from Brother Henry la Ware, prior of Holy Trinity, to Master 31 May, 1307. John, dean, Master William, archdeacon, and Master Maur, precentor of Kildare.

 f. 172 marg.

Recites a letter from the latter to the former, dated 22 May, 1307, stating that they had received an apostolic rescript in favour of the prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem at Dublin, and demanding obedience; and informs them that he has obeyed their command.

64. The Statutes of Westminster the First.

f. 173.

1275. In French.

Printed in Statutes, i. 26, and Irish Statutes, 47.

65. The Statutes of Jewry.

f. 173.

 1274×1278 (?). In French.

Printed in Statutes, i. 221, where see note on the date.

66. Statute of the Exchequer.

f. 179*.

Date uncertain. In French.

Printed in Statutes, i. 197b, under the title, "Districciones de Scaccario," as part of "Les Estatuz del Eschekere."

67. Statutes of Gloucester.

f. 179.

July 1278. The statutes as here given lack the preamble. They include the Statute of Appeals (see Statutes, i. 49), and conclude with a form of writ addressed to the sheriffs.

In French.

Printed in Statutes, i. 47, and in Irish Statutes, 86.

68. Les Estatut de Religium.

f. 181.

November, 1279. A French version of the "Statutum de viris is printed in Statutes, i. 51, and Irish Statutes, 36.

69. Poem.

f. 181^{*}.

In French.

70. List of various kinds of writs, with forms of writs, and explanation of legal processes.

f. 188.

In French.

71. Chronicles of England, 1066-1291.

f. 199.

Pentecost 1295. Partly in French.

Ending with the rubric: "Cronica in ecclesia sancti Pauli Londoniis scripta per manus fratris [verb. ras.] anno gratie m°cc° nonaginta quinto in festo pentecostes."

The Chronicles are followed by a number of chronological data, including the following:

- (1) "A fundacione ecclesie sancti Pauli Londoniis per Athelbertum regem m°cxxvi (sic)."
 - (2) "A conversione Anglorum per beatum Augustinum, dexcix."
 - (3) "Ab adventu Normannorum in Angliam, ccxxv."
- Of these (1) is evidently erroneous; (2) gives the date 597 + 699 = 1296; and (3) gives 1066 + 225 = 1291.
- 72. Letter of King Edward (I) to the Dean and Chapter of Cycestre. 9 July, 1291.

 f. 202.

Recites (1) an instrument of Florence, Earl of Holande, Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, John Baillof, Lord of Galleweye, John de Hastinges, Lord of Bergeueny (Abergavenny), John Comin, Lord of Badenogh, Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of the Marche, John de Vescy, for his father, Nicholas de Soules, and William de Rosse, agreeing to accept his decision as sovereign lord on their claims to the crown of Scotland, dated Norham, 5 June, 1291 (in French); (2) an instrument of the same, giving him possession of the kingdom pending the decision, dated Norham, 6 June, 1291 (in French); and orders the Dean and chapter to record the same in their chronicles.

Ends: "Testibus magistro W. de Marchia thesaurario nostro apud West-monasterio," &c.

The two instruments recited are printed in Rymer's Fadera, i. 755.

73. Memorandum.

f. 201*, marg.

On the Friday after St. Nicholas, 23 Edward (I), (9 December, 1293), Sir John FitzThomas, Lord of Offaly, imprisoned Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, in Ley Castle, and on the Sunday following (11 December) [took] the Castle of Kyldare.

74. Annalistic notes.

f. 202 marg.

75. Memorandum.

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1. 206 mitrg.

States that in 1311 William de Burgo led an army against Richard de Clare at Bonrath and insulted him, and that the latter seized de Burgo and kept him in custody in Bonrath Castle.

76. Various notes and scribblings.

f. 203 marg.

Among the rest is the statement that in the year 1301 a great part of Dublin, with St. Werburgh's Church, was burnt.

77. Various notes.

f. 204.

On weights and measures, the counties of England, the names of the peers of France and the electors of the Empire, &c.

78. Statutes of Westminster.

f. 204v.

Lent, 1800. Wrongly headed "Statutes of Winchester."

In French.

Printed as "Articuli super Cartas" in Statutes, i. 136. Also in the Liber Ruber of Ossory, f. 44, with the title "Novi Articuli."

79. Statute of Winchester.

f. 207.

8 October, 1285. Printed in Statutes, i. 96. See also Irish Statutes, 254.

80. Arithmetical notes, &c.

f. 208.

- 81. Form of homage rendered by John (Balliol), King of Scotland, to 1296. Edward (I) at Berwyke on Twede. f. 208.
 - 82. Questions concerning Baptism and the Eucharist, with answers.

 [f. 208*.
- 83. Letter of Richard de Averingis, Archbishop elect and confirmed, to 4 September, 1110. Thomas de Cheddiswourre, Dean of St. Patrick's and Vicar-General, concerning Philip de Braibrok, canon of Holy Trinity.

Γf. 209.

The Archbishop-elect has seen, and caused to be examined by men learned in human and divine law, the process transmitted to him by Cheddiswoure, from which it appears that Braibrok having fallen into heresy, and having abjured the same before Cheddiswowre, had relapsed. As he is again penitent, Cheddiswowre is directed to cause him, in the places where he had promulgated his error, to revoke it and teach the catholic faith in the presence of Cheddiswowre and other learned men. He is to be excommunicate during the Archbishep-elect's pleasure, and to be imprisoned for a year in the members of All Hallows near Dublin, where he is to have but one meal of bread and beer a day, except on Wednesdays and Fridays, when he is to fast on bread and water. Dated "Guascone."

84. List of Archbishops of Dublin.

f. 2097.

c. 1472. Ends with Michael Tregurre, Doctor of Theology, 21st Archbishop, who died at his manor of Tallaght, 21 December, 1471, and was thence borne to St. Patrick's with a multitude of the clergy and citizens, and was buried at the corner of the altar of St. Stephen.

85. Charter of Milo le Bret.

f. 210.

c. 1200. Grants to Holy Trinity Church for the salvation of the souls of his wife, &c., of his lord Hugh Tyrel, and of Hugh's sons and heirs Roger and Richard, the communia of the wood of Maynclare, two acres which William Molendinarius held lying between the Ria and the Camnoc, and "messuagium unum sibi et suis faciendum et pratum ante et retro usque ad utramque aquam et pratum subtus terram usque ad antiquum canale quod descendit de Cammoc in Riam." The canons are to have the right of having their pigs in the said wood every year.

Ends: "His testibus Ricardo Tyrel domino meo, Hugone de Lohe, Willelmi [sic] de Hestam, Adam de Sernefeld, Stephano de Mesintone, Osberto de Bedifordia, Adam filius [sic] Symonis, Willelmo archidiacono Dubliñ, Helia Arolde et multis aliis."

The date is inferred (1) from the occurrence of the names of the witnesses in Christ Church Deeds, 18, 19, 24, 476. The first two of these deeds belong to the time of Archbishop Comyn (1182-1212). (2) From the fact that Milo le Bret made a grant, witnessed by John de Curci, justiciary (1185-1189), and Hugh and Richard Tyrel (Chartularies, i. 125).

86. The same as Liber Albus, no. 31.

f. 210.

87. Instrument of William Mariscall, Earl of Pembroke and Justiciar of 1224 × 1226 (?). Ireland. f. 210.

The prior and convent of Holy Trinity having intimated that R. de Castello Martini has taken proceedings against them about certain chapels belonging to the church of Kylcolyn, granted to them by him and his predecessors, he commands William Grassus, seneschal of Leinster, that he put that plea in respite till his coming into Ireland, and that the prior and convent are to be protected in their possessions.

Compare Christ Church Deeds, 16.

The terms of the deed seem to indicate that it was issued by the younger William Marshall, viceroy 1224-1226. His father was viceroy 1191-1194. Cf. Liber Albus, no. 31.

88. Charter of Archbishop John (Comyn).

c. 1210 × 1212. After inspection of the charters of William Mareschall, Earl of Penbroc, Ysabella his wife, Reymund Grosse, and the Bishop of Glendalough, he confirms the church of Kylcolin to the church and canons of Holy Trinity.

Ends: "His testibus Willelmo archidiacono Dubliñ, Helya de Muha, Audoeno Brun, Helya canonico, magistro Petro, magistro Daniel, Willelmo clerico, cum aliis multis."

In Christ Church Deeds, 15.

The date seems to lie between that of Liber Albus, no. 31 (q. v.) and the death of Comyn (1212).

89. Charter of Archbishop Luke.

f. 210*.

26 August, 1242. Grants to the prior and convent of Holy Trinity a tithe of animals taken in his forest on the mountains. Dated at Clondulkan.

90. Same as no. 50.

f. 211.

c. 1190 (?).

91. Bull of Pope Boniface (VIII).

f. 211.

23 February, 1300. Confirms and renews the indulgences granted according to the report of the ancients to those who visited the basilica of St. Peter. Plenary indulgence is granted to all Romans who for thirty days, and to all others who for fifteen days, visit the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul daily—being penitent and confessed—during the year beginning Christmas, 1299, and each hundredth year following. Dated at St. Peter's.

See Fleury, Hist. Eccl., xviii. 651 sqq.

- 92. Grant by the Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity of a burgage in the villa of Kilbekenet and two acres of land to Andrew de Dalkey and Eva his wife at a rent of 3s.

 f. 211.
- 93. Agreement between Robert, prior of Holy Trinity, and Peter and October, 1260. John Comyn concerning the villata of Kynsale. f. 211.

The agreement was made in the court of Prince Edward in Dublin before Hugh, bishop of Meath, Waller de Wellesligh, Arnald de Berkeleg, and Alexander de Notingham, itinerant justices, and others. John Comyn recognizes the villata to be the jus of the prior. The prior grants him the villata, except one carucate formerly held by Mabilia Comyn, at an annual rent of 5 marks during the life of Margery Comyn, who holds a third of the villata as dowry, which at her death is to revert to John, the rent after her death to be 100s.

In Christ Church Deeds, 91.

94. Verses. f. 211^v.

95. Note on "the danger of an oath on the book." f. 212.

96. Verses. f. 212.

Begin: "Ecce mundus moritur vitio sepultus."

97. Note on the B.V.M.

f. 2127.

Begins: "Beata virgo Maria mater Domini xii annorum fuit quando per Spiritum Sanctum angelo nunciante concepit."

Breaks off at the end of the page.

98. Annals up to A.D. 1168.

f. 213.

99. Note.

f. 214 marg.

States that on 12 October, 1345, the chapter of Dublin was summoned to defend the Archbishop in the proceedings instituted against him by the Archbishop of Armagh in regard to the title of Primate.

100. Memorandum on the destruction of the property of the Church of Holy Trinity.

f. 214.

States that on 19 July, 1461, the east window was blown in, and the falling stones broke many chests containing jewels, relics, ornaments and vestments of the altar, and muniments—among the rest the foundation charter of Henry II [above, no. 19]. At the request of the prior and convent, and by order of the Barons, such of the charters as could be read were enrolled in the Court of Exchequer, 3 Edward IV (1463-4). By a miracle the Staff of Jesus, though the chest in which it was kept and other relics therein were destroyed, was found uninjured lying above the stones.

Printed in Todd, Obits, p. xix.

101. Memorandum on the Staff of Jesus.

f. 214.

States, almost in the words of Giraldus Cambrensis, *Hib. Exp.* ii. 20, that in 1180 it was sent from Armagh to Dublin, with St. Patrick's stone altar, by (William) FitzAldelin, and deposited in Holy Trinity Church in the time of Archbishop Laurence (O'Toole). The words of Giraldus are quoted verbatim no. 53.

See Todd, Obits, p. ix.

102. Commission of Sir Walter de Torniburi, by Archbishop John 1 October, 1312. (de Leche). f. 214.

He, being Chancellor of the King in Ireland and Canon of Dublin, is appointed Vicar-General, in the room of William de Rodyerd, whose commission is withdrawn. Dated also in the second year of Archbishop John's episcopate, at London.

103. Note on the tithes of the prior of Holy Trinity for a period of three 1272 (?) years. f. 215.

The total for 1272 is said to be £60 15s. 10\frac{1}{3}d., the collectors being ...

W. de Bagepuz, brother Stephen de Follebourne, and John de Bosco.

104. Charter of Amori de Nugent.

f. 215.

c. 1230. Grants to Holy Trinity Church an acre of meadow in the land of Main, which the late Rolland Haket held, adjoining the land of Kensale.

Ends: "Hiis testibus Amari de Houeve, Philippo de Nugent, Reginaldo Taleboth, Lodowico de Felt^m, Ricardo le Mestre, Johanne de Cestria, Galfrido de Kylgarū, Simone Comin, Willelmo nepote domini prioris, et multis aliis."

The date is approximately fixed by the following facts: Philip Nugent, father of Amori, made a grant with the consent of the latter, 1227 × 1244 (Chartularies, i. 11); Reginald Talbot appears in a deed certainly earlier, and probably considerably earlier, than 1220 (Reg. of St. Thomas' Abbey, ed. Gilbert, 347); John de Cestria made a grant, c. 1228 (Chartularies, i. 219).

105. Charter of Henry de Herefordia.

f. 215.

c. 1200. Grants to Holy Trinity Church 2s. of rent out of Ralph de Landaf's holding in the villa of Contkeran.

Ends: "Hiis testibus domino Waltero de Herefordia, Guidone de Herefordia, Rogero de Herefordia, Ricardo de Herefordia, Roberto filio Jordani, Roberto le Flaumant, Adam capellano, cum multis aliis."

Henry de Herefordia appears in deeds, c. 1185 and 1206 × 1224 (Reg. of St. Thomas' Abbey, ed. Gilbert, 197, 332); Walter and Richard witness a deed, 1198 × 1212 (ib. 194); Roger and Richard appear together, 1186 × 1209 (ib. 80, 124).

107. Charter of Richard Tyrel.

f. 215*.

c. 1215. Grants, with the consent of his eldest son and heir, H. Tyrrel, to the monks of St. Brigid de Castello Cnoth [in title the monks of Malvern], the land which belonged to Flenirgan (?) (elsewhere written apporently Flonagan), and all the moor and "les brutes." The boundaries are defined.

Ends: "Hiis testibus Milone le Breth, Johanne Tyrel, Willelmo de Faipo, Willelmo de Hestam, Stephano de Mesintone, Haket de Nugent, Johanne de Setinfelde, Alexandro Sabbe (?), Rogero Denswelle, Willelmo de Magene, et multis aliis."

Hugh Tyrrell, son of Richard, makes a grant to St. Patrick's, shortly after the death of William de Marisco (1242. See Clyn's Annals, s.a.): Reg. Alan., i. 11°; copies of various documents which have evident relation to the present charter are preserved, and may be dated 1212 × 1219; one of them has apparently three names of witnesses in common with it. See Dignitas Decani, 29, 33; Reg. Alan., ii. 200°. Other deeds in which William de Hestam or Escham is named, date from about 1218 (Christ Church Deeds, 24, Reg. Alan., ii. 6°). By these facts the date is approximately fixed.

108. Letter of Archbishop John (Comyn) to H., prior of Holy Trinity. [188 x 1185(?)]

The Archbishop of Canterbury intervening, a treaty of peace is being between the Archbishop and the King. Therefore, since he cannot an exchange of the lands of his church without the consent of the prior the Archdeacon; he commands the former to come to him speedily,

bringing with him Thomas, the canon, and the seal of his church, "sub sigillo Willelmi de Piro signatum."

John Comyn became Archbishop in 1182. H. was prior, c. 1178 (Christ Church Deeds, 468 e); and it seems improbable that there was a prior with the initial H. between 1185 and the date of Comyn's death (1212). See Reg. Alan., ii. 56, 71, Dignitas Decani, 1, Reg. of St. Thomas' Abbey, ed. Gilbert, 117, 318.

109. List of the Christian Kings of England.

f. 2167.

1307 × 1327. Begins: "Ivo rex regnavit xxxvii annos."

Ends: "Edwardus (II) filius eius regnavit."

The omission of the years of Edward's rule indicates that the list was compiled in his reign.

110. Verses. f. 217.

Begin: "Si dare vis suspende moram, da fronte sereno."

111. Brief of Edward (II).

f. 217.

- 28 November, 1309. Orders John Wogan, Justiciary of Ireland, to state the reason why in the King's name he presented a vicar to Kylcolin, which has long belonged to Holy Trinity Church. Dated at La Grove.
- 112. Inquisition held before John Gernon and John Grauntset, by 19 November, 1338. commission of the King, at Dublin, in a controversy between the prior and convent of Holy Trinity and the mayor and citizens of Dublin.

 f. 217v.

The dispute was about the "rectory" of the water of Aniliffi, and the rectory and lordship of Gargetmedis, and in what parish these meadows were situated. The jurors—viz.: Wlframnus de Bernevall, John Cristofre, Thomas Wodloke, John Balligodman, John Derpatrike, Nicholas Abbott, John de Novo Castro, Thomas Walleis, John Foxe, David FitzWalter, John Fitz Michael, and John Mareschall—find that the prior and convent are rectors on both sides of the river Aniliffie, with right to the tithes of fish caught in the burgage of Dublin, and temporal lords and rectors of Gargetmedis, which are in the parish of St. Michan's; and their predecessors have time out of mind enjoyed the same, paying a head-rent of 18d. a year for the meadows to the mayor and citizens.

113. Names of feoffees in the tenement of Swerdis.

1249 × 1252. The names, with description of holdings and rent, are as follows: Hugh de Belingis: the land which Robert de Bothynham held, viz.: one carucate, 40s.; the land of Balilok', i.e. 100 acres and 12 acres, 59s.; 109½ acres, 63s.; 24½ acres, 10s. 1½d.—all in the tenement of Luske. William de Belingis: the land which Reginald, late dean of Swerdis, held in the fee of Swerdis, 40s. Robert de Serdelews: 80, 13 (sie) acres in

Scheedonhe (?) next the land of William Sucgewak', 2 marks; 7 acres which Macwirtht held; 55 acres in the tenement of Swerdes (of which Emma Scot held 30 acres, Padin Oballe 20 acres, and William de la Grane 5 acres), 20s.; 30 acres in the tenement of Swerdes, which Walter Carpentar held for life, 24s. 10d. Peter Salsar: for 60 years, 2 messuages in the villa of Swerdis and 12 acres of land, 9s.; 59 acres in the tenement of Swerdis and a burgage in the villa, 45s. 3d.; 67 acres in the tenement of Glimatan, 33s. 6d.; half the land which Simon de Weneberge held "alū," 20 acres, 🛊 mark. Adam Barbator: 24 acres in Swerdis, 1 mark; for 30 years, 10 acres, houses and "curia" which belonged to Hugh de la Felde, 1 mark. Malebraunche: half the land which Simon de Weneberge held in the tenement of Swerdis, & mark; 21 acres in Swerdes, 11s. 6d. Sir Alexander the Saracen: Portraghly of the fee of Swerdes, and all the warrens (cunicularia) pertaining thereto, 1 lb. of incense. Master John de Marleberge: the land which Walter called the Bishop held, viz.: a carucate in the tenement of Swerdis, and 2 acres and a messuage in the villa which Richard Blundus held, and 4 carucate at Clunaran—paying for the carucate 6 marks, and for 52 acres with messuage, 20s. Ralph de Fingal: the land called Cathnoc, viz.: ² carucates which Robert Wallensis held, 6 marks. John Fitz Alexander of Swerdes: 29 acres in the tenement of Swerdis, 21s. 4d.; 5 burgages in the villa, 5s. Reginald Fitz John: land which his father held in Toberheranus, and 2 acres between the moor of Leucehale and the Archbishop's estate, 30s. Robert Juvenis, burgess of Swerdis: 36 acres in the tenement of Swerdis and burgage, 36s.; burgage, 2s. Columba Ottohing: the land which Alan Ottohong had in the villa of Luske, 61 marks. Robert de Mora: 20 acres in the tenement of Glinathan, 15s. Laurence de Bodeham: the land which his father held in the villa of Luske. Baldwin Marescall: by marriage, the carucate which Walter Ruffus had, 40s. William Suchwat: 10 acres in Cendrum, and 8 acres between the land of Walter Carpenter and the king's way, and 26 acres in Skedonit, and a messuage and curtilage in Bollihare (?), 21s. (above line, 41s.). Henry Mol of Glimathan: 70 acres, 46a 6d. Richard the Clerk: | carucate and 8 | acres and | strang in the tenement of Glimathan which Stephen de Glimethan held, 45s. 9d. Hugh de Russe: "ad firmam perpetuam," 40 acres, 37s. 6d. William Palmer: carucate in the tenement of Luske which William Wig held, 5s.; the land of Acderyn (?) in the tenement of Sankayn (?) (these Cristin held more fully), 5s. Robert Scottus: land at Wrene, 2 marks. John Preyse: 20 acres in Swerdis which Walter Bissop held, and 5 acres which Angnes (sic) Educ (?) held and [...] which Robert Moryn held, 11s. Thomas, son of John, son of Lionisius: 2 carucates and 80 acres, 16 marks. Sir William the Englishman:

3 marks (sic) of the villa of Rathmoỹ, near Luske, 1 lb. of wax at Easter William de Camera: 32 acres which Robert de Drefhan (?) held in the manor of Swerdis, 20s. Maurice and Henry de la Hulle: 1 carucate and 30 acres in Balilokayn, 20s. John de Herlande: 30 acres of the fee of Swerdis which Lewis Tundu held "alū", 10s. R(ichard de la Corner), Bishop of Meath: 3 carucates in Portrachely (?). He and his first heir or first assignee are to pay £9 4s. 2d. for life. Subsequent heirs to pay this with \(\frac{1}{2} \) mark of increment. Canons of St. Patrick of Holmpatrick: in frankalmoigne, the whole "bream" where stood the chapel of St. Brigid in the manor of Swerdis, from the house "Balniatoris" to the wall of Walter Ciminus, with 4 acres in the land of Werene. William Feretarius: the land which his father Walter held "in manus seu molendini villa," 3 marks.

In Reg. Alan., ii. 189.

For the date see note on No. 115.

114. Names of feoffees in the tenement of Balimore. f. 218^r. The list is as follows:—Burgesses of Balimor: their burgages 1249×1252 . according to the laws and liberties of Bristol for ever, rent for each, 12d.; 10 acres in free burgage according to the same, for each burgage, 12d.; common pasture beyond the water of Balimor as the broad way goes towards Balkynglas to the stream of Sigin, and as the stream goes up to the ford on this side of (citra) Caxū, and as a certain stream runs [called] Knoxi up to Anleffy, 4s.; the same repeated [the stream being now called "Sygin"]; the land which Gilbert Laweles held near Kellicarkayr, which we bought from Robert, son and heir of the said Sir Gilbert, & mark. The Men of Dunlounet: their burgages in the villa of Dunhumelaght according to the laws and liberties of the burgesses of Balimor, 12d.; a carucate in Bolimachnan, The Men of Dunlouan: 4 carucates and 13 acres, and common pasture of a moor in the same villa, £8 11s. and 3 marks 13 d. William Longus, Nicholas Superbus, David Albus, Thomas Albus, Murardach Hocherdyn, Thomas de Kardewec (?), David Fangwas: 180 acres arable land, meadow and moor, in the villa of Crewelpi, £4 10s. for all service, saving to us the suit of the mill (sequela multure molendini) of Ballimor. William Hund, Nicholas Palmer, Henry Scarie (?), Hugh Herint, the widow Alicia: 180 acres as before, in same villa, with common pasture between said villa and the villa of Tobbir (?), £4 9s., saving as before. Robert Niger: 3 burgages in the villa of Balimor which Ralph de Hulle held, 3s. Gilbert de Furneys: 1 carucate which John Comyn held in Balirodogan, 6 marks. William Wallensis: 1 carucate "pro 1 marc. red. pro 40d." Hugh Ilum: for 30 years from 1280,

land in the mountains near Kylgarsan, called Conmath[u], with pasture of

the wood of Kylkarehan and of the adjacent mountains and out of the wood of Kilgareham to make houses in the same land and for mending hedges (ad claustra sepum) and out of the old wood for fire at the view of the forester, 8s. and 9th (?), 12d. of increment. Philip Obery: the land which his father Neymu' Obery held in Kylbodan, viz.: 1 carucate and 35 acres "et Bolim Clenedren (?)" for pasturing his own beasts, 2 marks. Robert Arthur: 11 carucate, viz.: Baliconlat and Kylpatrike, 3 marks, 9th and 3s. of increment. Thomas Judas, son of Adam Judas: 3 carucates in Balimacronan, 2 marks. Philip de Forham and Humfreda his wife, 2 marks and 1 mark of increment Augustine Fitz Roger and his heirs by his wife Begray: the villa and land of Dunboch and adjacent pasture, 5 marks and 1 mark of increment. Richard Fitz Roger: the land which he held in the time of our predecessors with pasture for 10 cows, 10 other beasts, and 100 sheep, and turbary for his own fire, 24s. 5d. and 3s. 7d. of increment. Augustine Fitz Roger: the land of Balielyn which Hugh de Lega held, for himself and his heirs by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of said Hugh. Geoffrey, son of Philip, the knight: 1 carucate at Balimony which D. (?) of good memory recovered from him in the King's court, 2 marks in 9th and 10s. 8d. of the increment. Reservicus, som of Resericus, and Matilda his wife: custody of tenement of Coylach, which devolved by the death of John Harald, 100s. Yvo de Dunlouan: 1 carucate, viz., the rath of Dunlouan, which Hugh de Sarradelaugh held, and another carucate called Vela Clomathmeth, which Crotegan held, and 3 acres of marsh beside the king's way, 25s. Duciessa, daughter of Othothelan: 1 carucate in Coylan sc. in Balimornan, 4s. Bortanus Otohlan: for himself and his heirs for 20 years from 1249, 20 acres in Clunbride, with pasture of our lands and mountains, a mark. Bridinus Macclohyn: 20 acres in Lochlin with pasture and turbary, for 20 years from 1249, 5s. Osbert de Crumlyn: the land which Dunehald Heryenatht held in the manor of Tauelaught, 50 [shillings]. William Albus of Gykelkyvin: the land which Osbert de Cromelyn had in the same manor, 50s. to us and 2s. to the said Osbert. Othert de Crumlyn: the land which Dunehbald Herienath held in the same, 50s. Master John de Kyldar: land between Ballimor and Furcinewell rent of burgage of Balimore, 12d. Laurence Gurnard: our oven of Balimor with suit of the same villa for life, 20s. Richard Saffer: custody of the land of Geoffrey Roc in the tenement of Ballimor, up to marriage, service to be rendered to us which Geoffrey rendered. Andrew Gamage: \(\frac{1}{2} \) carucate, viz.: in Baliodali, 12s. 6d.; 42 acres between the road from Dublin to Balimor in Coyland, and the land of William Baret and Walter Albus and the ditch called Felom, 5s. and 2 lb. of incense to the chapel. William Doding: half of our land of Strabo, 4 marks. Richard Doding: the other half of same, 56s. 8d. John Fitz John of Penris: the land of Fynenouer, for 60 years from 29 September, 1240 (?) "et quam in maneriis nostris juxta nouam uillame tam ad negotia sua facienda quam ad alia sua propria pascenda," on his deathe his heirs to have his land, 40s. William, son of Richard Surdevalle: the land of Rathfyn in the tenement of Balimor, 5 marks. Robert, son of Robert Blund: 1 carucate, viz.: Balisenor in Adkip, 20s., which land has usually rendered 2s. of increment. Burgesses of Holywood (de Sancto Bosco): 6\frac{1}{2} acres each in free burgage with the customs of Bristol and all the pasture in mountains and plain, viz.: 47 burgages and 15 "front" containing 307\frac{1}{2} acres, besides 201\frac{3}{4} acres of escheated land. Rent for each burgage, 12d., and for the escheated land, 27s. 8d., &c.

In Reg. Alan., ii. 189v.

For the date see note on no. 115.

115. Names of feoffees in the tenement of Castlekeyvyn. f. 219^v. 1249 × 1252. Sir William the Englishman: the land of Lakyn and Myneglas. for 2 marcates of land, and 164 acres, with pasture of the mountain and of the wood of Glesdey and "housbote" and "heyber," "et ignem et porcos proprios in foresta ii.," 25s.; the land which Derimrinus (?) MacTheys the chaplain held, 3 marks; custody of the land of Theobald Pyncerna in the district of Arclo, saving to us the advowsons of churches, 2 marks. Richard the Englishman: for life, the land of Kyladreny, which John Laweles, knight, held, with liberty to assign it by will, for twelve years, and "housebote" and "heyber" in the wood of Baliloranth by the view of the forester, 100s. and 1 mark of increment. John Doget: 2 carucates of the land of St. Kylcrerechy, 4 marks, saving advowsons and tithes; that which he has in Balidunly and Lismorothe, 3 carucates, 16s. 8d., saving as before; Balidunly and Clismoreyge, 3 carucates, 16s. 8d., saving as before; Kylcrerey (?), 2 carucates, 4 marks, saving as before. Abbot and Monks of St. Mary, near Dublin: the land of Ruscoly which William Oscanlin held "alū." Richard le Archer: 2 carucates in Clemolyn Emanetkan (?), 1 mark, saving as before; 2 carucates in Clansmolyn Emanegan [sic, repeating the preceding], between the land of Henry de Thauelaught and Stouach, and extending to the great water, with pasture "vinnorum monom," 20s., saving as before. Yvo Patrick: 2 carucates in Derlestre and Clonbo in our tenement of Saukeyvin, "retentorum nemor" de Leytron," and 20 acres in Arclas adjacent thereto on the south, with pasture, &c., 10s. and 40d. of increment. Abbot and convent of St. Thomas outside Dublin: the land of Kylwisky with the natives. William

¹ Tenth year of consecration of Archbishop Luke.

de Bdinqis: for life, 113 acres of the land of Carbonch (?), 5s. and 20d. of increment; 5 carucates in Balimaclocher (?), Balidergor, Balimachay, and Balyofynan, and housbote and heyber, &c., 3 marks.

In Reg. Alan. ii. 190.

The date of this and the two preceding lists, which are evidently contemporary with it, seems to be fixed by the mention in no. 114 of two leases of the year 1249, and by the reference in no. 113 to R., Bishop of Meath, as (it seems) still alive. Richard de la Corner—the last Bishop of Mesth with the initial R. before A.D. 1400—vacated the See before 29 June, 1252. That the lists were drawn up between 1249 and 1252 is confirmed by an examination of the names of the feoffees. Passing over the fact that the names of eight or more of them are found, apart from the others, in deeds which range from 1225 to 1264 (Reg. Alan., i. 3, 12, ii. 121, 129, 183, 188, 195, 202, 205, Christ Church Deeds, 56, 482, Calendar of Docs. relating to Ireland, i. 2816, 3082, ii. 166, 292), we may lay stress on the occurrence of others in groups, in documents dating from about 1240 to 1264. Thus Thomas Judas, son of Adam Judas, William Surdevalle, and Richard Dodyng appear together between 1230 and 1244 (Reg. Alan., ii. 126), Alexander the Saracen, and William de Belingis, in 1241 (ib. 2087), William Barret, Richard Dodyng, and Walter Albus, c. 1250 (ib. 188), Richard Fits Roger and John Comyn, c. 1260 (ib. 106), Hugh de Belingis and Peter de Sauser, in 1264 (ii. 203), and William Long, Andrew Gamage, and Thomas, son of Adam Judas, 1257 imes 1271(ij. 123). Further, Alexander Fitz Roger, mentioned as a feoffee in no. 114, was son-in-law of Hugh de Lega, who witnessed a deed in 1185 (Reg. Alan., i. 8). And Yvo de Dunlouan (see no. 114) was dead, about 1260 (ib. ii. 122). In the face of these facts, we may perhaps regard as a clerical error the date 1280 given to one of the leases referred to in no. 114. And not much importance need be attached to the tradition reported by Archbishop Alan (Reg. Alan., ii. 189), that the lists were drawn up by Archbishop Fulk de Saundford (1257-1271).

116. Arithmetical Notes.

f. 220.

117. Inspeximus of various charters.

f. 221.

7 December, 1265. Hugh (de Tachmon), Bishop of Meath, Richard de Rupell, Justiciar of Ireland, Master William de Bagepuz, Dean of St. Kennice's, Kilkenny, and Fromund le Brun, papal chaplain, grant inspeximus (dated at Dublin) of the following:—

- (1) A charter of Henry III, confirming a previous grant by him of privileges to the city of Dublin. The grant ended, "Testibus Ricardo de Hum constabulario, Reginaldo de Curtenyey, Ricardo de Camulla, Willelmo de Lannalleyo, apud sanctum Laudum." The confirmation ends, "Testibus H. de Burgo comite Cantie justiciario Anglie, Henrico de Aldythel, Hugone Dispensario, Johanne filio Philippi, Roberto Anguyllun, Radulfo Tyrel, Galfrido de Cauz et aliis. Datum per manum venerabilis patris R. Cycestrensis episcopi cancellarii nostri apud Herford," &c., and is dated 15 June, 1229.
- (2) Charter of John, Lord of Ireland, and Earl of Morton, to the citizens of Dublin, defining the boundaries of the city, and granting certain liberties. It ends, "Testibus Stephano Rideldo [sic] meo cancellario, Waltero de Dunstamuill, Willelmo de Kahang senescallo meo, Theobaldo Waltero pincerna Hamone de Walloniis, Ingeramo de Pratellis, David Wallensi, Ricardo de Buuer, Fulcone de Cantelou, Willelmo filio Ricardi, Gilberto de Angulo,

Rogero Tyrel, Magistro Benedicto, Magistro Petro Canuto apud Londoñ "&c and is dated 15 May 1192.

- (3) Confirmation of the foregoing by King John, which grants in addition half the water of Auenelyfy for fishing. Ends:—"Testibus hiis S(avarice Batonensi episcopo, Galfrido filio Petri comite Exsexye, R. comite Mellet Roberto de Harecurt, Petro de Pratellis, Galfrido de Costantin, Willelm de Cantelou, Ricardo de Reueriis, Roberto de Wauci, Gaufrido de Mariscia Roberto de Plesceto. Datum per manum Simonis archidiaconi Wellensi apud Optonam," &c., and is dated 7 November, 1200.
- (4) Charter of Henry III, identical in terms with the foregoing an ending as (1) above, except that the name of Geoffrey de Cauz is omitted Dated 15 June, 1229.
- (5) Charter of King John, prohibiting disturbance of the citizens of Dubli in the liberties granted by his charter. It ends, "Teste G. filio Petri comit Exsexie apud Fakeham," &c., and is dated 10 November [1202].
- (6) Inspeximus and confirmation by Henry III of a charter of King John to the citizens of Dublin. King John's charter grants to the citizens to hok the city in fee-farm with the fishing of the Liffey (certain rights excepted) a a rent of 200 marks a year, with licence to build a bridge over the Liffey, and confirms previous charters by Henry II and himself; and grants them al the lands pertaining to the city as defined in his charter, saving th agreement between them and the monks of St. Mary outside Dublin; and permits them to have an annual fair for 15 days beginning with th vigil of the Invention of the Cross (2 May), saving to the Archbishop th aforesaid fair for two days, viz., 2 and 3 May. It ends: - "Testibu domino H. Dubliñ archiepiscopo, H. Imelacensi episcopo, W. Marescall comite de Penbrokia, W. comite Sar, H. de Burgo justiciario nostro Anglie W. Briwer, G. de Marisco, Philippo de Wigornia, Rogero Pipard paruc Waltero de Rydelesford. Datum per manum Ricardi de Marisco cancellar nostri apud Marleberge," &c. Dated 3 July, 1215. The confirmation end as (1) above, and is dated 15 June, 1229.

Of the deeds of which inspeximus is given (2) is printed from th original in J. T. Gilbert's *Historic and Municipal Documents* 51, and *Charta* 6, and (3) in Gilbert, op. cit. 57.

118. Memorandum.

f. 223 marg.

John Fitz Geoffrey was made justiciary of Ireland in 1266.

¹ The year is omitted. But, according to the Itinerarium printed in the Patent Rolls of Kin John, he was at Feckenham on 8 and 9 November, 1202, and at Bridgenorth 11 November.

119. Letters Patent of Edward, eldest son of the King of England. f. 223v. 27 Jane, 1266. Since in England no persons, secular or other, can be brought before an ecclesiastical judge except in matrimonial and testamentary causes, and by the gift of the King, his father, Edward enjoys similar liberty in Ireland, he prohibits pleas concerning chattels or debts against the citizens of Dublin from being held in the court of Christianity except such as arise out of testamentary or matrimonial causes. Dated at Kennylworth.

120. Charter of King John.

13 March, 1208. Grants to William Marescallus, Earl of Pembroke, his land of Lagenia, saving to the crown the city of Dublin and two cantreds adjacent thereto, and the royal money and suits of the county of Dublin, as before accustomed, and the pleas of the crown. Ends:—"Testibus domino P. de Wyntonia, domino J. Norwycensi episcopis, Willelmo Briwer, Hugone de Neuill, Thoma de Samford, Willelmo de Cantilupo, Ada de Port. Datum par manum H. de Weyft archidiacono Wellensi apud Marleberge," &c.

In Reg. Alan., ii. 202 (without names of witnesses).

121. Charter of Henry (II) to Hugh de Lascy.

1171 × 1172. Grants him the land of Mydia for service of 50 knights to be held by him as Murcardus Humelachlin held it. Ends:—"Testibus comite Ricardo filio Gilberti, W. de Brusa, W. de Aubeygny, Reginaldo de Curteney, Hugone de Gundeuilla, Willelmo filio Aldelini dapifero, Hugone de Cressi, Willelmo de Stutevill, Radulfo de Haya, Reginaldo de Pauilli, Radulfo de Verdun, W. de Owerpumvill, Roberto de Ruylly. Apud Weyseford."

In Reg. Alan., ii. 202 (without names of witnesses).

Henry II was in Ireland from October, 1171, to April, 1172. This charter was probably granted on the eve of his departure from Wexford, 17 April, 1172.

122. Charter of John, son of the King and Lord of Ireland, to Henry Tyrel, 1185. his dispenser.

f. 224.

Grants him the land west of the "close" of Daniel, brother of Drogo, and between the road from Diuelyn to Kylmaynan and the water of Kylmaynan, up to the place where the said road and the boundary of Kylmaynan intersect (continuantur), for service "quattuor turrettorum. Ostorii de f'ro pro omni servicio." Ends:—"Testibus Bertram de Verdon seniore, Willelmo de Wennevill dapifero, Gilberto Pipard, Rogero le Cauntois, Alard Camerario. Apad Weysford."

The charter was evidently granted during John's visit to Ireland in 1185.

123. Note on measures, and some verses.

f. 2247.

124. Various scribblings and notes.

f. 225.

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[8]

Among these is a note on the family of Comyn, as follows: John Comyn, died 19 June, 1277. John "vetus" Comyn had issue, John, who was slain, "juxta Linetan et Clyam," and Jordanus, who had issue, Nicholas and John, who had issue, John, whom the monks slew, who had issue, John, Adam, Jordanus, Henry, and daughters who [sc. John?] had issue, Maurus, who had issue, Jordanes (sic), who had issue, John, Jordanes, Henry, and daughters.

125. Note, "de virtute liquiricie (?)."

f. 225*.

126. "De Sodomitis et(?) civitatibus eorum [...] liber primus." f. 225.

Only a few sentences follow the title.

127. Note on the Feast of Tabernacles.

f. 225*.

128. Charter of Nicholas la Banck.

f. 2257.

c. 1247. Grants to Holy Trinity Church 1 acre near the red moor, where Moritach Macboylan dwelt—with $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of turbary in his tenement of Clonmachgillegrio—which acre lies between Kylmachmoynan and the red moor.

In Christ Church Deeds 59, with names of witnesses.

The date here given is that assigned in the Calendar of Christ Church Deeds.

129. Charter of Remund la Bank.

f. 226.

Grants to Holy Trinity Church, "cum matre mea quam seipsam delegauit predicte ecclesie," tithes of his land in Fingal called Cloun, and tithes of his land in Ubrun, called Semguanacht.

130. Memorandum.

f. 226.

c. 1290. In 1281, in the time of prior Adam Delamore, the new work of the presbytery was begun; and in the same year the prior recovered, by judgment of the ordinary, the tithes of Aneliffy from the mayor and community of Dublin, and bought from Adam de Helmiswelle 2 marks rent in Balliardour, and afterwards from the heirs of Sir Stephen de Say, viz.: John Poswike and John Duneuede, and 1 mark from Geoffrey Fitz Leo; and in the same year Adam de Callan took a messuage on the Quay from the prior for 4s. Also Henry Mariscall holds by charter \(\frac{1}{2}\) messuage at 12d. Also in 1281, the same prior gave a sum of money, "pre manibus Henrici de Pencoyt juveni," for confirmation of the chapel of Pencoit. And in 1282 he bought the advowson of Acherlar, with 120 acres from Henry de Pencoit, senior, and 7 acres "incrementa de Kartmayn," from Robert de Trim, and 7 acres in Balliardur from Luke the Chamberlain. And in 1288 he

recovered the tithe of a curtilage of John Garget before Archbishop J(ohn de Saunford), then guardian of Ireland, and other Justices in banco.

See Christ Church Deeds 96, 114-125, 130, 132.

131. Verses. f. 226.

132. Incantation against tooth-ache (?).

f. 226*.

133. Decree of John de Cantuaria, commissary-general of the official of the court of Dublin. f. 226.

In accordance with the immemorial custom of St. Patrick's Church, that the "commensales," clerics and laymen, who die in the city or diocese of Dublin, should be buried in the Church or its cemetery, the body of Hugh de Istelep, brother and commensalis of Master Walter de Istelep, Caron, shall be buried in the Church or cemetery according to the will of his located.

The date is approximately fixed by the fact that Walter de Istelip was Canon of St. Patrick's in 1346 and in 1324 (Dignitas Decani, 144; Papal Letters, ii. 241, 326).

134. Notes. f. 226.

A.D. 1339, July 7, an eclipse of the sun at 9 o'clock. April 15, provincial council was held in Holy Trinity Church, by Archbishop A exander de Bydenore, Master Richard Howlot, bishop of Kildare, &c.

135. Agreement between Prior William and the convent of Holy Trinity, and Robert Balf, Richard de Grendon, and Philip Albus. f. 226.

The former grant the latter a carucate called the land of Holy Cross in the tenement of Kennelen for 20 years, beginning on the feast of St. John Baptist (24 June?) 1270 for 5 marks a year, the latter agreeing to erect buildings thereon.

Ends: "Hiis testibus domino Fromundo tunc cancellario Hibernie, magistro Willelmo de Bakepuz tunc escaetore Hibernie, Thoma filio Humfridi, domino Willelmo Somamelle (?), Hugone de Leodire (?), Reymundo Owayn, Willelmo filio Gilberti et aliis."

136. Taxation of Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's Churches. f. 227.

1306. St. Patrick's. Prebend of Archbishop 700 marks, Archbishop's prebend de Colonia £40, Deanery 100 marks, Precentory 40 marks, Treasury £40, Chancery £40, Archdeaconry of Dublin £40, Prebend of Swords £60, Vicarage thereof 100s., Prebends of Sir James de Spannia and Master Richard de Wyndon in Luske £33 6s. 8d. each, two Vicars of Luske £26 13s. 8d., Prebend of Clynmethan 20 marks, Prebend of Houeth £23 8s. 8d., Prebends of Sir J. Patrike and Sir J. de Dene in Castrocnoke

£13 6s. 8d. each, Vicarage of Castrocnoke 10 marks, Prebend of Rathmyell 20 marks, Prebend de Novo Castro £20, Prebend of Tassagart £10, Prebend of Maynoth £20, portion of Vicar 10 marks, Prebend of the villa of Yago 10 marks, Prebend of Dunlouan £20, Prebend of Monmehenoke 10 marks, Prebend of Thamothan £10, Prebend of Typpyr £10, Prebend of Typpyrkeuyn £10, Vicarage of Tauolagh 5 marks, Vicarage of St. Keyvyny 5 marks, Prebend of Staghgonyllde nothing by reason of war. Archdeaconry of Glendalough 10 marks, Prebend of Aderk 114s.: sum of all the prebends with the Archbishopric £1080 14s. The communia of St. Patrick's. Kevyn's Church £10, Cromelyn £10, Castrocnoke 20 marks, Kymesentan nothing by reason of war, Tamelogh 40s., Kylbryde 40s., Villa of Breynok 60s. Mon, Derton, and Arscoll, £20, Rathsalagh 100a, Villa Fraxini nothing by reason of war, Donaghmor in Omayl do., Land of Terenemok 20s., rent of the City of Dublin 40s., [Name erased] nothing by reason of war, Land of Selyok, 10s., Altarage of St. Nicholas in St. Patrick's Church 100s.: sum of the taxation of the communia £75 6s. 8d.; sum of the preceding £1156 10s. 8d.

Holy Trinity Church. In Deanery of Dublin, St. Michael's £6, St. John's 100s., St. Michael's £4, rent of the City of Dublin £16 5s. 2d.: sum £31 5s. 2d. In Deanery of Traueh[.], Grangegorman 4 carucates £24, tithes of same £8, Manor of Glasneyvyn 3 carucates £24: sum £56. In Deanery of Bree, Manor of Clonken 7 carucates, of which two with a mill are farmed for £14 13s. 4d., 1 carucate £4 10s., 1 carucate at Tyllagh £6, 3 carucates remaining in the manor £18, Church of Clonken and adjacent chapel £18 3s. 4d.: sum £61 6s. 8d. In Deanery of Swerd, Church of Balyskadan £10, rents £28: sum £38. In Deanery of Omurthy, Church of Kyllcolyn £39 13s. 4d. Grand total £226 5s. 2d. In each case the corresponding amount of tithe is added.

Remainder of f. 228 is cut away.

137. Portion of rhyming account of a martyrdom.

In English.

f. 228.

The beginning was on f. 228^r. It seems to have extended over two following leaves, which have been cut out.

138. Treatise on the Purgatory of St. Patrick. f. 229.

Begins: "Patri suo in Christo preoptato domino H. abbati de Sartis frater H. monachorum de Salteria minimus continua salute filius obediencie nimius. Jussistis pater reverende ut scriptum uobis mitteremus quod de purgatorio in vestra me retuli audisse presencia.

See above, no. 16.

139. Notes on the sons of Noah and the coming of the first inhabitants of Ireland.

f. 230

140. Narrative of the foundation of Holy Trinity Church. f. 231.

The vaults are said to have been founded by the Danes before St. patrick came to Ireland. Afterwards came Sitruic, King of Dublin, son of Ableb, Earl of Dublin, and gave to the Holy Trinity and Donatus the first his hop of Dublin the site, and the lands of Kealdulek and Recraportracre, and old and silver for the building. Donatus built the nave, "cum duobus collateralibus structuris," and the base (solium) for the crucifix and the chapel of St. Nicholas (on the north) and the church of St. Michael. Archbishop Laurence (O'Toole) and Richard, Earl of Strangvyll, and Earl Marischall, Robert Fitz Stephen and Raimund, husband of the Earl Marischall's sister, built the choir, with bells and two chapels, viz.: of St. Edmund, king and martyr, of St. Mary called Alba, and St. Laud, and gave St. Michael's Church for the mensa. And before there were archbishops in Dublin the place of the palace was in the lordship of the prior and convent, and there was their garden. Archbishops Laurence (O'Toole), Henry (de Loundres), and Luke built the "cancella a choro cum duabus collateralibus structuris" up to the place where is now the archbishop's seat. John Comyng and Archbishop Luke are buried in a stone tomb on the south side of the Church. Archbishop Henry is buried on the other side of the chancel in a wooden tomb. Archbishop John de St. Paul added the chancel (sic) with an episcopal seat, and the east window and three other windows between the seat and the east window on the south side. His body is buried under a marble stone with a brass figure on the second step of the altar. Afterwards the citizens, moved by a miracle of St. Laurence (related in his Life), built the great chapel of St. Mary on the north side of the "cancellum."

Printed in the Monasticon Anglicanum, vi. 1148. See also above, no. 55.

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

The Order of the Sack (see Liber Albus 58, above, p. 31)—so called from the material of which the habit was made—was founded in 1248 under the influence of Hugues de Digne. In 1274 it was ordered by Pope Gregory X that no fresh members should be received into it. Monumenta Historica at Provincias Parmensem et Placentinam pertinentia, Parmae, 1857, pp. 109 sqq., 276. See also G. G. Coulton, From St. Francis to Dante: Translations from the Chronicle of Salimbene, London, 1907, p. 322. These references are due to the kindness of Mr. W. J. Butler, M.A., of Trinity College Library.

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The numbers without prefixed letter refer to the articles of the Liber Albus; those to which N. is prefixed, to the articles of the Liber Niger.

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¹ The Rev. Thomas Rowan suggests that this name perhaps survives in 'Fumyhall Three Roads,' a little over three miles south of Ballymore Eustace, in the townland of Dragoon Hill, Co. Wicklow.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

VOLUME XXVII, SECTION C, No. 2

GEORGE COFFEY

IRISH COPPER HALBERDS

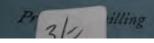


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It is, I think, useless to attempt to place the following halberds figured here in a series of development; and no progression can be claimed for the forms of the halberd further than that there appears to be a movement of development from the smaller straight blades to the larger and curved blades. They may be noted simply as varieties.

Nos. 23 and 24 are similar forms, with broad central spaces; the rivet-plates are somewhat shaped and squared at the ends. No. 23 was found in the County Meath, and No. 24 in the King's County.

No. 26 is unusual in that the plate, which projects slightly as a broad tang, is pierced for six rivets, and has one or two notches in the end of the plate. The blade is straight, a slight inclination to one side more than the other in the line of the mid-rib and edges, and the slope of the butt of the mid-rib, alone suggesting the curved type. The unusual number of rivet-holes may be due, as suggested by Wilde, to some extra rivets having been added subsequently to the original.

Nos. 27 and 28 are two well-formed examples, with unusually massive rivets; the mid-ribs and edge-flutings are well-marked. No. 27 shows a slight inclination to the curve. No. 28 is more pointed and straighter in its lines, but shows in the slope of the butt-end of the mid-rib its connexion with the halberd-type of blade.

In one or two cases the mid-rib has been brought to a slight roof-ridge (like "Bronze Implements," fig. 337); and a fine example of the curved form in Sir John Evans' collection ("Bronze Implements," fig. 331) shows a well-marked bead down the mid-rib; but in most cases the mid-rib is a plain, rounded curve in section.

ANALYSES.

The halberd blades presented some difficulty to analyse properly. They are too thin to allow of the metal being taken by borings at the sides, as may be done in the case of the celts. The examples selected were therefore somewhat restricted to already defective specimens.

J. W. Mallet analysed one specimen in 1853. An ordinary scythe-shaped blade, 10 inches long by 3 inches broad, stated to be from Roscommon. The tin in this blade is returned as 2.78 per cent. This high percentage of tin inclined me to expect that a rising percentage of tin might be found in the specimens now analysed, indicating a gradual transition to bronze. Analysis has not confirmed this supposition; and, as I shall presently show there is reason to believe that some error must have crept into Mallet's.

¹ Trans. B.I.A., vol. xxii. J. W. Mallet, Ph.D., P.C.S., Professor of Chemistry in the Medicalla. College of Alabama, 1860.

analysis. Detailed analyses of the following five specimens were made by Mr. James H. Pollok, D.Sc., F.C.S., Assistant Chemist in the Royal College of Science, Ireland; and I have to express to him my thanks for the care he has taken in a somewhat troublesome matter—one of no very exciting nature to the chemist.

Mr. Pollok's analyses are set forth in the following table; the samples taken were mostly too small for the accurate determination of traces, and in source cases, as W. 248, were a good deal oxidised. The specimens analysed are all figured, and are indicated by the word "analysed."

| | | Copper. | Tin. | Anti- mony. | Arsenic. | Lead. | Silver. | Iron. | Bismuth, Nickel, Zinc. |
|---|----------------------------------|---------|------|----------------|----------|-------|---------|-------|---------------------------|
| 1 | King's Co. Day Coll., No. 25, | 99-02 | 0.22 | Nil | Nil | 0.19 | 0.26 | 0.04 | Nil |
| 2 | Antrim, 1903, 235, No. 9, | 97:31 | 0.31 | 0.14 | 0.18 | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| 3 | Galway, W. 241, No. 19, | 98.06 | 0.22 | Nil | Nil | 0.28 | Nil | 0.17 | Nil |
| 4 | Cork, R. 459, No. 7, . | 98.30 | 0.30 | 0.27 | 0.37 | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| 5 | W. 248, No. 28, . | 97-24 | 0.18 | Nil | 1.54 | Nil | 0.25 | Nil | Nil |

These analyses show that the metal of the copper halberd blades is in no way different from that of the copper celts analysed in my former paper. Mallet's analysis, however, still stood in the way, causing me to suppose that a higher percentage of tin might be found in some of the specimens which had not been analysed. Mr. Pollok, therefore, made a spectroscopic analysis of eight additional specimens, including that previously analysed by Mallet, with a view of determining which, if any, showed strong tin lines, so that a quantitative analysis could be made of them if necessary.

It may be well to explain that the method involves no injury to the specimen whatever. It consists of using the specimen as one of the electrodes of a Ruhmkorff coil, and photographing the spectrum of the spark. The spectrograph is then compared with the spectrographs of a known series of alloys of copper and tin—in this case from 0.5 per cent. to 8.0 per cent. of tin; and from the comparison of the number and strength of the lines seen in the spectrum a close approximation of the composition of the metal can be made.

The spectrum of the specimen W. 262, believed to contain 2.78 per cent.

The portion taken for analysis was in cases somewhat larger than would be inferred, as **Theoremathy an accident happened to some of the results, necessitating a second analysis,

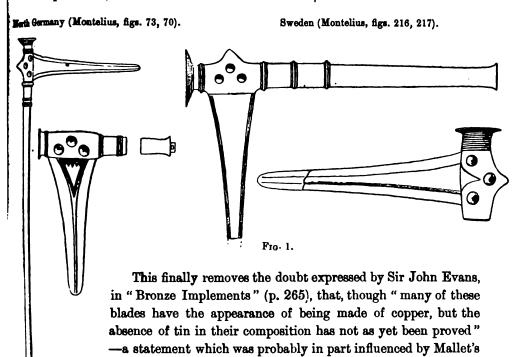
of tin, did not show, on the contrary, any strong indications of tin; and it was estimated by Mr. Pollok to contain less than 0.5 per cent. To place the matter beyond dispute, it was therefore decided to make a chemical determination of the actual tin in the specimen.

Mr. Pollok finally reported: - "As I had been informed that the sample W. 262 was supposed to contain about 2 per cent. of tin, I made two chemical analyses of this sample, and found that, in point of fact, it contained 0.25 per cent. of metallic tin, which entirely confirms the spectrographic result." It must therefore be finally accepted, Mr. Pollok adds, that W. 262 "contains 0.25 per cent. of tin and not more." Some mistake must therefore have occurred in the original analysis or in the printed paper. At first sight it would seem as if the error was caused by a slip in the place of the decimal point. But this is not so; the results are uniformly given to two places; the total is correct, and from the text it is evident that it was regarded as a Moreover, Wilde quotes the analysis of this blade without comment (p. 486). But the halberd is covered by a crust of brown-black patina of oxide of iron, which does not dissolve in nitric acid. A portion of the work may have been entrusted to a student; and though the colour of the precipitate should have indicated its nature, it is conceivable that the oxide of iron was weighed in with the tin. The portion cut off for the original analysis was evidently quite large, judging from the present appearance of the blade (Pl. III., No. 30), and must have contained a considerable quantity of the patina. Mr. Pollok found no less than 0.49 per cent. of iron oxide crust in the portion, 2 grammes, analysed by him. However it happened, we can well understand that some mistake took place in the analysis at a time, 1853, when the importance of the question involved was not appreciated. There can fortunately be no doubt as to the identity of the specimen. It still retains Wilde's original number, also a special label marked "Mallet," and was the only halberd from which a piece had been cut off for analysis prior to the present paper. There seems, however, to have been an error in stating it was from Roscommon. Wilde does not give any locality for the specimen analysed by Mallet. I have gone into the subject of this analysis in some detail, as it has been quoted in works of authority.

Of the other seven halberds examined by the spectrographic method Mr. Pollok says: "None of them contained over 0.5 per cent. of tin; most of them much less; a number of them showed several lines of lead; some showed two lines of arsenic; and a number of them showed one line of silver; and one gave a faint single line of tin (W. 236). They are all nearly pure copper, with small quantities of impurities named." The examples examined were W. 271, W. 231, W. 233, W. 236, W. 247, R. 1978, and

1881, 196. All of these are figured, and are indicated by the letter "S" added below the figures.

As the method does not claim to be more than a close approximation, though with care it may be a very close one, I think we can say that the tin in these specimens is certainly below 1 per cent., most probably below 0.5 per cent., as Mr. Pollok assures me he has no reason to doubt.



MODE IN WHICH HALBERD-BLADES WERE MOUNTED ON SHAFTS.

analysis, quoted in a later part of the work (p. 421).

The manner in which the halberd-blades were attached to their shafts is explained by the bronze halberds with bronze shafts—the blade and upper part of the shaft often in one piece—from North Germany and from Sweden, fig. 1.1 These halberds are referred to in an early stage of the Bronze Age. But they are of bronze, and in casting and other features show a considerable advance on a primitive type; the large imitation rivets cast in the head of the shaft no doubt represent an earlier form in which the shaft was of wood and the rivets real.

Ten bronze halberd-blades were found together near Stendal in Prussian

Montelius gives a list of thirty-one finds (two from Sweden) in "Die Chronologie," p. 27.

3.1.A. PROC., VOL. XXVII., SECT. C. [15]

Saxony, but without handles, four of which are figured in Montelius' "Die Chronologie," and are reproduced here (fig. 2). An analysis of one of the blades gave 15 per cent. of tin, and of a rivet 4.5 per cent. of tin. From the straight-across mark on the blades, and some bronze tubular pieces for the handles, there seems no doubt that they were intended for wooden shafts placed at right angles, and evidently represent the earlier type. The blades are straight, and about 11 to 12 inches long, the longest being about 124 inches. It is important to note that the rivets are of two kinds, large

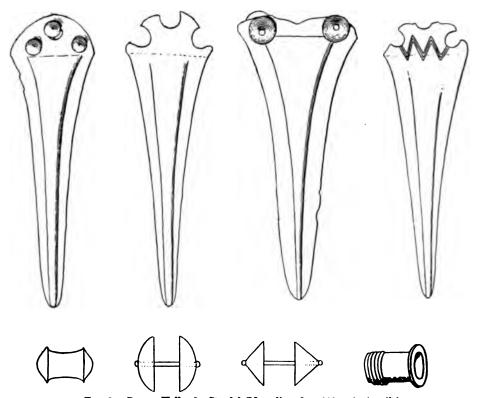


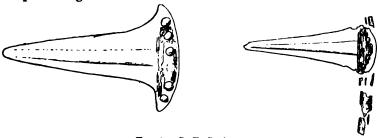
Fig. 2.—Bronze Halberds, Stendal (Montelius, figs. 112 to 119). (2.)

and stout, like the usual Irish form; and some with metal washers, like the solitary example found in Ireland on the copper blade, No. 20. In general appearance these halberd blades from Stendal are closer to the Irish halberds than any others which have been found on the Continent, but do not include the curved or scythe-shaped form common in Ireland.

Examples of copper halberds, with remains of the transverse wooden shafts in position, found by H. and L. Siret in the south-east of Spain, give us, how-

¹ See plates to H. and L. Siret's "Les Premiers Ages du Métal dans le sud-est de l'Espagne." The largest halberd (fig. 3, below) is given as about eight inches.

ever, more direct evidence on the subject. The halberds in this case go back to the very beginning of the Bronze Age in that district. The form of these copper blades was, however, in most cases T-shaped, and different from the Irish examples. Fig. 3.



F10. 3 .- S.-E. Spain.

Halberds attached to their shafts are again shown among the prehistoric rock-markings in the "Italian Maritime Alps," lately published with numerous illustrations by Mr. C. Bicknell.

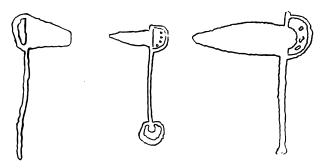


Fig. 4.—Rock-Markings, Maritime Alps.

But the actual blades which can be classified with any certainty as halberds are very rare in the North and Middle Italian districts, though some of the copper and early bronze triangular dagger forms may have been occasionally mounted as halberds.

In the admirable guide published by the British Museum to the Antiquities



Fig. 5.—Cremona. (1.)

of the Bronze Age, mention is made (p. 117) of a halberd-blade said to have been found at Calvatone, Cremona, which, it is added, "bears a striking resem-

blance to Irish specimens (fig. 60)." The reference is to the Irish specimen from Wexford. But the Cremona blade is quite straight; whereas that from Wexford is of the usual Irish curved form, very like our No. 29. It is

^{1 46} Prehistoric Rock Engraving in the Maritime Alps." C. Bicknell, Bordighera, 1902.

quite coppery-looking, and is, no doubt, of copper, or a bronze poor in tin; and though somewhat unusual in type for Italy, there appears to be no reason to doubt the locality of the specimen, which was acquired by Sir A. W. Frankes in Lombardy. Pigorini, who saw this blade, compared it to Evans' figure 334, a straight, triangular blade about 10 inches long, from Ballygalway, County Tyrone. Through the kindness of the authorities at the British Museum, Mr. E. Armstrong has made an outline drawing of the blade, which I reproduce here.3 Though there is a general resemblance between all these heavy riveted blades, as in the case of that from Ballygalway, a close affinity of type also exists to the blades from Stendal, with which region a relation may be inferred from an early time by the Brenner Pass and the Upper Elbe valley. The mark of the handle across the butt on both sides is irregularly curved, which agrees with the slope in the line of the rivets, and indicates that the blade was mounted with a slope downward; there appears to be no doubt that it was a halberd. The rivet-holes are nearly square, which perhaps recall the square hole in butt-ends of some of the primitive flat celts from the Ægean.3 The copper character, and possibly the square form of the rivetholes, indicate an early date for this blade.

As Montelius remarks, the halberd-blade can be distinguished from the broad dagger by the mark of the handle, which is curved or indented in the case of the dagger, but straight across in that of the halberd. This is generally true; but there seem to be some exceptions in the case of primitive blades, as shown in the Siret plates.

There is another point which has not been noticed hitherto, as far as I am aware. The hindmost rivets, both in the case of blades with four rivets, and those with three only, are shorter than those in front of them; this I have shown in the side-views of several specimens; and the way in which the heads of the rivets have been sloped when being burred by the hammering further emphasizes this feature. The shortness of the end-rivets and slope of the heads imply that the handle was rounded off behind the blade, as would be the case with a transverse shaft. So there appears to be no room for doubt as to the manner in which even the long scythe-shaped blades were mounted on handles, though some uncertainty was formerly expressed on the subject.

In the great majority of examples, the halberds were mounted at right angles to the shaft, and not inclined downwards, as was more usual in the case of celts, even in the Stone Age, which was adapted to a controlled blow

^{1 &}quot;Bulletino di Paletnologia Italiano," vol. 8 (1882), p. 171.

² Also figured in Montelius' "La Civilisation Primitive en Italie," Pl. I. B. 33.

^{* &}quot;British Museum Guide," Brenze Age, fig. 119.

more from the elbow than from the shoulder. This is to be inferred from the examples of bronze halberds with metal shafts already mentioned, most of the examples from the south-east of Spain, and the rock-markings of the Maritime Alps. But examples are known in which the blade was sloped.

The Irish halberd-blades were evidently mounted at right angles to the shaft in the same way as most of the Continental blades, as can be seen from the straight-across marks of the handle which can be traced on several of the examples.

But the Irish type is distinct from the Continental, both by the length to which the blades attain, and the curve which occurs in many of them. The latter may, indeed, be spoken of as the characteristic Irish type. I have figured a blade 16½ inches long, and two others over 15 inches. One from the County Wexford, 15½ inches long, is in the British Museum; but no halberd-blades at all approaching this length appear to have been found on the Continent.

The curve is also peculiar to Ireland. It is of mechanical advantage in the adaptation of these blades to halberds, especially the larger blades, but appears to be unknown on the Continent. Halberd-blades, both of the straight and of the curved types, have been found in Scotland, apparently of copper, and indistinguishable from the Irish; but they are of much rarer occurrence than the Irish examples. Ireland may therefore be regarded as the centre of the copper scythe-shaped type. In England halberd-blades are very rare, and the curved form appears to be quite unknown.

It has been supposed that the size and length of the rivets indicated massive handles, thought by Wilde to have been of metal. This has been pointed out by Sir J. Evans to be a mistake; but Wilde's statement of the length of the rivets, "some an inch and a half in length" (R.I.A. Cat., p. 450), is strangely erroneous. On the contrary, the rivets are noticeable for their shortness between the heads, almost always under \(\frac{2}{4}\) inch, in the case of No. 21 (W. 235) not exceeding \(\frac{1}{2}\) inch. They imply a broad, flat head to the shaft, rounded off at the back, as already mentioned. At first sight, the head of the shaft, as judged by the rivets, would seem, perhaps, too slender; but, as it was of considerable breadth, and would be bound round above and below the blade, it was, no doubt, strong enough. That it was customary to so bind the shafts may be inferred from examples with the

¹ See Montelius' "Die Chronologie," figs. 69 and 251; the latter of northern type, but from Hungary, is also figured by Hampel in "Venere Studien uber die Kupferzeit," Z. f. E. 1996, p. 76, and appears to be copper, or bronze poor in tin. The halberd appears to be otherwise unknown in that centre.

^{*}See Evans' "Bronze Implements," p. 268. One of the scythe-shaped blades is figured in the Calogue, National Museum, Edinburgh, p. 142.

metal shafts, such as Montelius' "Die Chronologie," pp. 29 and 83, whe the lapping is imitated in the casting of the head.

There are three bronze halberd-blades in the collection which may now noticed. They have not been analysed, but are of quite unmistakable yello bronze, fig. 6. The first is a straight blade, with well-marked mid-rib, 1 inches long by 4½ broad, and may possibly have been a broad dagger; but t stoutness of the blade and some marks of the handle, which seem to point its having been straight-across, as well as a slight want of symmetry in t shape, inclining to suggestion of curve in one of the sides, induce me to clait as a halberd, though the four rivet-holes are rather small, and disposalong the back more after the manner of a dagger. It was formerly in t

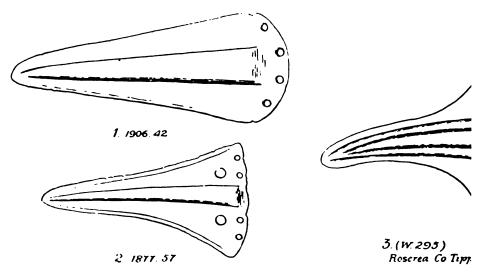


Fig. 6.—Bronze Halberds found in Ireland. (1.)

St. Columba's College collection, and was probably found in Armagh or of the adjoining counties, where most of the objects in that collection cafrom.

The second is a very well-shaped bronze blade, slightly curved, and m pointed than is usual with the copper blades, $8\frac{9}{16}$ inches long by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inc at the butt. The rivet-holes are peculiar, consisting of two large ones in fr and four smaller behind these, along the margin of the back. The locality not recorded.

The third of these bronze blades is a curved, beaked form of quite excitional type, closely resembling that figured in Evans from Co. Cavan, p 266, fig. 332. It measures 7½ inches long by 8½ inches across the baths blade, found near Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, differs, however, from that fi

Cavan, in having two large rivet-holes, and also two notches in the margin at the back, and has likewise a sort of treble mid-rib; otherwise, it is of the same form as that from Cavan, which is also of bronze, and both agree in being somewhat broader at the base than the length. These two appear to be the only examples of that type of halberd-blade which are known.

CONCLUSIONS AND DATE.

Of the thirteen copper celts, analyses of which were published in my previous paper, in one case only was the tin returned as reaching 1 per cent. This was the specimen analysed by Mallet, who returned the tin as 1.09; and it was the only Irish copper celt analysed previous to that time. As Mallet's analysis has been shown to be erroneous in the case of the copper halberd, I am inclined to think that the percentage of tin in this celt may likewise have been stated too high; and it will be best to rule this case out in any discussion of the subject.

Of the remaining twelve specimens, in eight cases the antimony was not separated from the tin; and in three of the eight the conjoined tin and antimony reached 0.8; in the other five of the eight the conjoined tin and antimony varied from a *trace* to 0.6. In the remaining four cases out of the twelve, in all of which the tin and antimony were separated, the highest tin reached was 0.12.

In the five analyses of copper halberds, in all of which the tin and antimony were separately determined, it will be seen that the tin varies from 0.18 to 0.31 per cent.; and that antimony was present in two cases, amounting to 0.27 in one specimen; in one of the copper celts, in which the antimony was separately determined, it rose as high as 0.6 per cent.

We may therefore conclude that the copper halberds are simply coarse or unrefined coppers from similar ores to the copper celts, and that the copper implements found in considerable numbers in Ireland may contain from a trace up to about 0.5 of tin—rarely, if ever, exceeding that percentage.

This small percentage of tin has been shown in my previous paper to be derived from the ore and not intentionally added, and may occur in the copper ores of even a conspicuously non-tin district, as shown by Siret's investigations in the south-east of Spain. It is not necessary to press this point further.

An increasing percentage of tin was not found in any of the copper celts, or, contrary to expectation, in the copper halberds. Whether a gradual increase of tin would be found in the early bronze celts, showing

an intentional addition of increasing quantities, would require a series of analyses of bronze celts.

But judging from the widespread use of copper implements in Ireland (as shown from the number and distribution of the counties in which they have been found), from which it may be inferred that copper remained in use for a considerable time, and the uniform absence from them of added tin (notwithstanding development of type), it seems more probable that bronze was introduced as an alloy of a known proportion of tin, without having gone through any tentative stage in Ireland of experiment with increasing quantities of added tin.

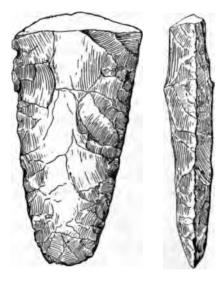


Fig. 7. (1.)

Moreover, in the case of the halberds, the great rarity of any specimens of bronze blades which can be classified as halberds indicates that that form of implement practically ceased to be used when bronze came into use in Ireland. Certain features of the copper celts indicate a gradual transition from stone to metal. It seems therefore reasonable that we should look perhaps for the prototypes of the copper halberd among the stone implements of the preceding period. The evidence is not as satisfactory on this point as in the case of the celts.

In the Bann valley many flint wedges or picks have been found. They have been found elsewhere in the northern counties, and, rarely, in other stone; but are generally known as Bann implements. They are usually some six to eight inches long, stout in body, more or less subtriangular in section, and worked to a blunt point or to a sort of chisel-

edge. But in some cases they are flatter in section, and more tongue-shaped in form.

Figure 7, from the County Down, is a very well-formed example of these latter specimens. It measures 51 inches in length by 25 inches across the butt. At first it might be thought that it was a fragment of a larger blade which had been snapped across; but it is not broken: the flat surface across the butt-end is a portion of the flat top of a core-like piece from which it was shaped; this is evident from the other side, from which some flakes have been struck downward from that edge. It is doubtful if any of the stout pieces were mounted on handles as picks; but the flatter blade-like pieces present some analogy to the copper halberds of the earliest type, which is suggestive. The copper blades may perhaps have influenced these flint blades; but the series connects on better to the series

of the Bann implements. And if a stone pick-like implement was in use in the Neolithic Period, it may possibly help to explain, to some extent, the prevalence of the metal halberd in Ireland in the next or Copper Period. As the blades were made longer, the curved form would come into being, and would be readily suggested by the deer-horn picks already in use (fig. 8). Why the curved form should be apparently confined to Ireland, we cannot explain; but the halberd had evidently a wide and fairly long use in the island.

The copper of which the celts and halberds were made was, in all probability, Irish copper. I had contemplated procuring a series of analyses of Irish copper ores for comparison with the analyses of copper implements to complete that branch of the subject, as stated in my previous paper; but on reconsideration I have decided not to proceed with this portion of the question—at least at present. Analyses of ores are somewhat troublesome to

F10. 8.

make; and the analyses of a few hand-specimens would not be likely to yield results that could fairly be brought into comparison. Until a number of the copper mines of Ireland have been reopened, especially in localities where tin is to be expected, such as in Wicklow, and perhaps in parts of the southwest, so that samples can be taken from 'quarterings' on a large scale, as was kindly done for me by the Messrs. Vivian in the case of the Cornish ores, it seems to me that isolated analyses would possibly only tend to confuse the subject, instead of advancing our knowledge.

Moreover, the ores that would be first sought, and from which the copper implements were presumably made, would be the oxidised ores—oxides and carbonates—inferred from the fact that they are surface ores and more

easily reduced than the sulphides; and it is in these oxidised ores that tin is most usually found: thus samples from deep ores might be misleading.

But though the direct evidence of a comparison of the native ores with _ the implements is wanting, we may, I think, fairly draw the following conclusions from the investigations already made.

The copper implements were not imported, nor was the copper for making them. This, I think, can be inferred from the prevalence and the special types of the Irish halberds. If the halberds were imported as made implements, we should expect a closer correspondence with Continental types; and it is improbable, taking into consideration the widespread use of copper implements (judging from the numbers and distribution of finds), and the local knowledge of casting (as shown by the types), that copper was imported as metal to a country in which copper ores are largely distributed. In saying this, it is not meant, of course, to exclude the possibility of implements or metal having been brought into the island in the first instance.

Copper came into use in Ireland, we may suppose, in no sudden or violent manner. On the contrary, the transition from stone was probably of some duration, and, it is to be inferred from the evolution of types, took place, in a general manner, possibly somewhat in this way. By the end of Neolithic times, division of labour had probably made considerable advance in certain directions. Flint-flaking and knapping and the manufacture of stone implements would be confined to the skilled workers of a community. This, we know from Catlin and others, was actually the case among the American Indians. When the use of copper was making its way through Europe, spreading from the lands of the eastern Mediterranean along the old trade routes of Neolithic times, and influenced by the search for new deposits of ore, there would be thus skilled classes of implement-makers already in existence, and probably to some extent in touch with each other in the different communities by reason of their common craft; by these a knowledge of the extraction of copper from the ore would be passed along, producing new centres of trade and diffusion in localities where ores were easily accessible. And though at first implements of copper, and perhaps the metal, might be carried to a considerable distance, an early use of the local ores seems to better explain a case, such as Ireland, where the development of the copper celts from those of stone can be clearly made out, implying a local experimental stage in the capabilities of the new

¹ Catlin: "Like the other tribes, they guard as a profound secret the mode in which the flints and obsidian are broken into the shapes required. Every tribe has its factory, in which these arrowheads are made; and in those, only certain adepts are able or allowed to make them for the use of the tribe."—" Last Rambles amongst the Indians," p. 187.

substance rather than the advent of copper implements after the experimental stage had been gone through elsewhere.

Whether this new knowledge of metal, coming from the eastern Mediterranean, first crept round by way of Spain, or struck across the Continent to the north and west of Europe, and so to Ireland, we cannot at present say definitely; the line of march as indicated by the halberds, which are strangely deficient both in the south and the north of France, seems to point to North Germany and Scandinavia, by way of the rich ore-fields of Middle Europe. But the archæology of the Peninsula for this early period is at present too uncertain to speak with confidence. There are indications even in Neolithic times which perhaps point to Spain; but again there are relations which indicate a considerable correspondence with Brittany and the north of France in the early Bronze Age. It may be sufficient at present to note that there is no reason to believe that even at that early time the sea imposed any insuperable obstacle to the spread of culture influences.

The absence or very low percentage of tin in the coarse coppers of the Irish copper implements seems to me to exclude Cornwall as a possible source, as the "tinny" copper ores of that locality would probably give a larger amount of tin in the copper; see assays of Cornish copper ore in the previous paper on celts. In the subsequent period of normal tin-bronze, the remains of which are so well represented in Ireland, we can hardly suppose that the scanty native deposits of Irish tin, if known, were at all sufficient, and tin was no doubt imported—possibly bronze, too—from Cornwall or even Brittany. But the scarcity of copper implements and deficiency of copper types in Britain raise a doubt that the Cornish copper ores can have been known at the time, or were much in use before the exploitation of Cornish tin.

What approximate date in years may be assigned to the beginning of the Copper Period in Ireland and its probable duration are, of course, questions open to much speculation. A detailed examination of the subject is beyond the scope of this paper.

The following few dates, however, may be set down provisionally. Dr. Oscar Montelius, who has devoted so much attention to the chronology

¹ Mortillet figures a large triangular blade from Hautes-Pyrénées (Musée Préhistorique, Pl. lxviii.) which he states is not quite correctly drawn (sides not so straight, and rivet-holes not so symmetrically distributed). He adds that it may be not a dagger, but one of those blades which were fixed on the side of a long handle. It is also given from this figure, but as a dagger, by Montelius in "Chronologie en France," Cong. Préhist., Paris, 1900, p. 342.

of the Bronze Age of Europe, estimates the Copper Periods of France and the north of Germany from before 2000 B.C. The next or true Bronze Period he puts at from 1850 B.C.

Allowing a margin of some two centuries, these dates can be fairly transferred, I think, to Britain and Ireland without likelihood of serious error. As far as I can see, the only approximately fixed points we have to argue from for Ireland are (a) the occurrence of the halberd with the copper celts (Birr find), which places beyond question the pre-bronze character of the curved halberd, and (b) the rare form of rivet with metal washers which occurs in one of the curved forms. This latter blade and rivets show considerable skill in metal-working, and may be presumed to be at leastnot earlier than the middle of the Copper Period in Ireland. The peculiar form of the rivet corresponds to that of some of the rivets on the bronze halberd-blades from Stendal (fig. 2). This form of rivet is found on other objects of the early Bronze Age; and we cannot suppose it to have been an independent invention in Ireland. It is true this class of rivet may have continued in use for some time in the early Bronze Age; but it is not known as yet in the copper implements on the Continent, and thus seems to bring the Irish copper halberds in sight of the Bronze Age of Upper It is therefore a probable conclusion that the Copper Period in Ireland was contemporary with an early stage of the Bronze Age of Middle Europe.

Now Stendal lies in the path of one of the oldest culture routes, the Elbe, from the Adriatic northward across Europe. The important mineral fields of Bohemia and Saxony must, no doubt, have been reached at a very early time in the use of metals. Tin is abundant in that district; and the copper ores appear to be "tinny" ores, comparable in that respect to those of Cornwall, thus leading easily to a knowledge of bronze. In fact, an origin of European bronze has sometimes been claimed for that locality; though, on the whole, this seems improbable, at least as regards the origin of the alloy, inasmuch as earlier dates are known for bronze in Egypt and certain eastern culture-centres than any ascribed to the alloy in Europe. But the Upper Danube region may be considered as the most important sub-centre for the dispersion of the knowledge of bronze in Europe. A date of about 2000 B.C. may therefore be mentioned for the commencement of the Bronze Age in that region.

Somewhere between 1600 and 1800 B.C. may then be set down as a probable date for the end of the Copper Period in Ireland. There is no evidence that the Irish gold deposits were sought at this early period; but in the early Bronze

Age gold objects of characteristically Irish type (lunulæ) were exported to the Continent, indicating to some extent a return wave of influence.

The lower of these dates is no doubt too late for the beginning of the period; but if some part of the latter half of the Irish Copper Period is accepted as corresponding with the period of the bronze halberds from Stendal, which, from the tubular shaft-ends found with them, cannot be very far removed in time from the halberds with metal shafts of North Germany and Scandinavia, 1700 B.C. does not seem to be too late for the overlap of time during which copper was still in use in Ireland.

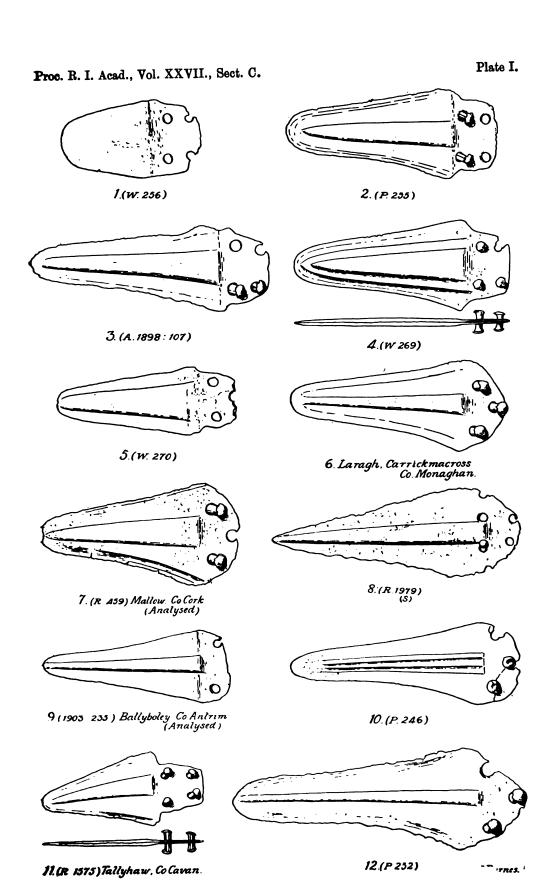
I am aware that some authorities do not estimate the northern Bronze Age at so early a date. But we must recollect that the whole of the Irish Bronze Age has to be fitted in after the Copper; and I do not see that the date can be much reduced if we are to allow room for the several periods of the Bronze Age and their approximate correspondence to the periods of the Continental chronology.

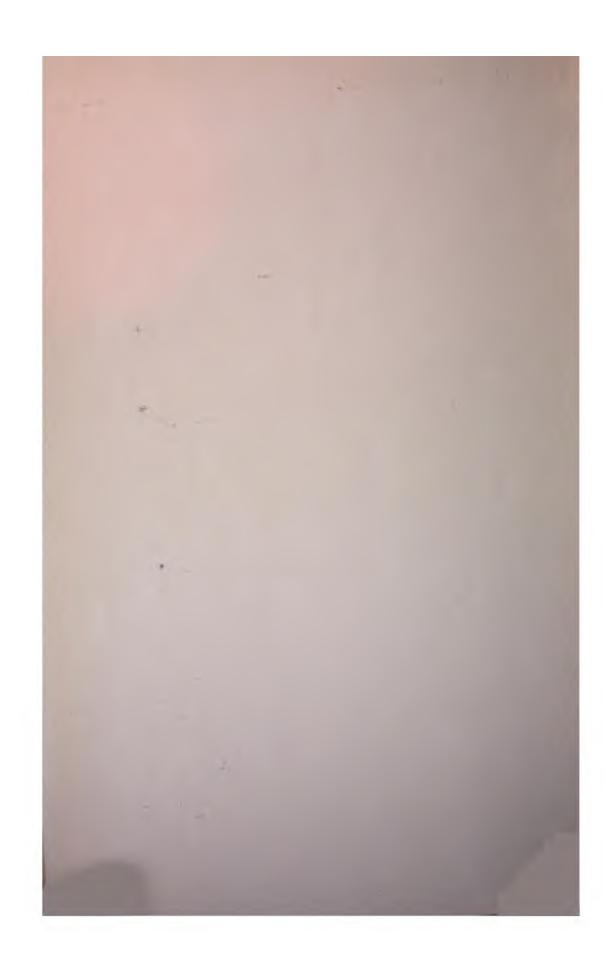
Professor Gowland states, in regard to the Birr find (which he reproduces), as also some other celts figured in my paper, that these celts " are undoubtedly bronze forms." The remark no doubt applies to his general argument against "Copper Age" as a distinct period of culture in Europe, instead of a stage of transition1—a view which I fancy few people now hold. The use of "Age" I have always purposely avoided for that reason, and from the beginning the Sirets and Montelius have referred to copper implements as a transition. Whilst in general agreement with Professor Gowland, I cannot, however, quite go with him as regards these celts. They seem to me to be still within the copper series between stone and bronze. The side flanges to which he refers can, I have stated in my paper, "hardly be called flanges, but are only a slight upsetting of the sides, afterwards rubbed flat, and usually noticeable on one face only," though they may be taken, perhaps, as indications on the way to flanges. The breadth of the butt-ends is a copper-form; and, more important, the greatest thickness in section has not moved up to the middle of the celt, but is still found towards the cutting edge. This last feature—a survival from the stone type—I have never noticed in a bronze celt. The further statement that riveting was not invented till late in the Bronze Age, appears to want some qualification as regards "late." The copper halberds were, it is to be presumed, cast in closed moulds. Some of the celts appear to have been cast in closed moulds also, casting in which would be facilitated by the impurities in the copper, as Professor Gowland himself

^{1 &}quot;Copper and its Alloys," Journ. Arch. Inst., vol. xxxvi., 1906, p. 24.

114 Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.

points out, especially as regards the large percentage of arsenic in these coarse coppers. So that the difficulty of casting copper, except in open moulds, does not seem to be a sufficient explanation of the copper series of types in Ireland, which implies a development of the metal form in the copper series. The scarcity of copper implements in Britain, which is explained by the presence of tin in quantity (bronze and closed moulds), is perhaps open, therefore, to another explanation.





Proc. R. I. Acad., Vol. XXVII., Sect. C.

Plate II.

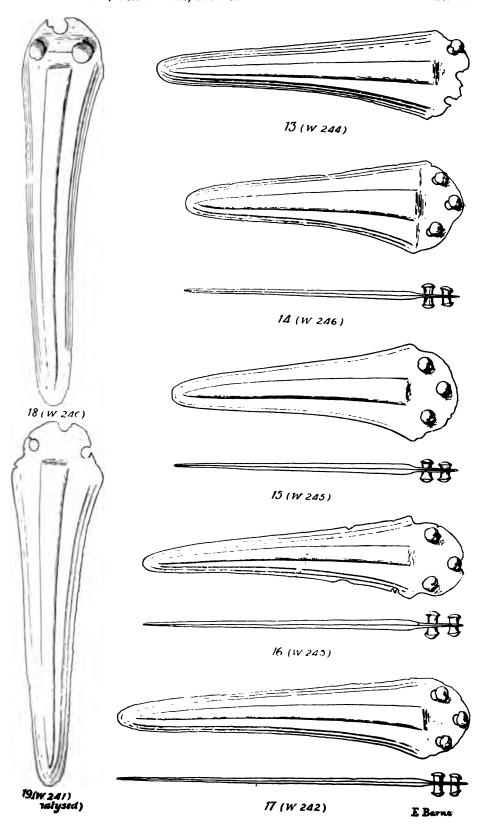




Plate III. Proc. R. I. Acad., Vol. XXVII. 20. (W.271) (S) 21 (w. 235) 22.(W. 236) (S) 27 (W 247 (S) 28 (W 248) (Analysed) 23 (W.238) Co Meath (S) 24 (1874 32) Kings Co. 25. Kings Co (Analysed) 30 (W 262) (Mallet) 29.(R.2553) 26 (W 253) (S)

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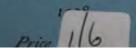
HENRY F. BERRY

ANCIENT CHARTERS IN THE LIBER
ALBUS OSSORIENSIS



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III.

ANCIENT CHARTERS IN THE LIBER ALBUS OSSORIENSIS.

BY HENRY F. BERRY, I.S.O., LITT.D.

Read NOVEMBER 11. Ordered for Publication NOVEMBER 13, 1907. Published JANUARY 31, 1908.

The original White Book of the Diocese of Ossory has long been lost; but transcripts of certain documents contained in it, probably (as evidenced by the handwriting) made some time in the first half of the seventeenth century, were preserved in the Consistorial Registry at Kilkenny, in the form of a small paper book, bound in parchment; and this was known for generations as the White Book of Ossory. This copy was also mislaid a great number of years ago, which will account for its contents not having been described by Sir John Gilbert in his Report on the Records of the See of Ossory, for the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Having been recently recovered by Dr. Crozier, the then Bishop of Ossory, an opportunity was afforded me, through his Lordship's courtesy, of having its contents transcribed, when Mr. T. J. Morrissey, Ll.B., of the Public Record Office, kindly copied the original contracted Latin used in the volume. The little volume consisted of six folios, $11\frac{1}{2}$ " × 8", of thin paper, five of which and folio 6 face were written on. The book has been recently rebound.

The documents comprise an Inquisition dated A.D. 1331, and fourteen charters or deeds (the early portion of the first being defective), all of which will be found to date between the years 1202 and 1289, i.e., during the episcopates of Hugh de Rous, 1202-1218; Peter Malveisin, 1221-1230; Hugh de Mapilton, 1251-1257; Hugh de Thetford, 1257-1260; Geoffrey de St. Leger, 1260-1287; and Roger of Wexford, 1287-1289. Those wherein the Earl Marshal is named in connexion with Bishop Hugh belong to the period 1202-1218, during which Hugh de Rous or Rufus, the first Anglo-Norman Bishop of Ossory, occupied the see. In cases where Hugh the Bishop is not mentioned in connexion with the Earl Marshal, the deeds may date as of the time of Hugh de Mapilton, 1251-1257; or of Hugh de Thetford, 1257-1260. The documents relate to the property of the see of of these charters—that of the Earl of Pembroke and his

Countess to Bishop Hugh, and that of Bishop Hugh to Thomas Unch—were printed in contracted Latin, with translations, in the Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society (vol. ii., N. s., 1859, p. 322), in the first of a series of articles on Kilkenny, by Rev. James Graves; this particular paper dealing with the Irishtown.

The City of Kilkenny had a double source—namely, the old town, which gradually grew round the ancient church of St. Canice on the north; and on the south, that which was formed about the church of St. Patrick, Donaghmore. About the year 1204, William, Earl Marshal, senior, united these two vills by the construction of what are now known as High and Parliament Streets. The township of the Irishtown, north of the Breagagh river at the Watergate, had its charters from the Bishops of Ossory, while the English town, south of that river, had its charters from the Earls Marshal. Parliament Street is situated on part of the see lands given to Bishop Hugh by Earl William for an ounce of gold yearly. (See pp. 123-4.)

William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, died in 1219, leaving five sons, who succeeded him, and who all died without issue—namely, Earl William (the second), died 1231; Earl Richard, 1234; Earl Gilbert, died 1241; and Earls Walter and Anselm, who both died in 1245. The lordship of Leinster, which consisted of the present Counties of Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Kildare, and Queen's, was then partitioned between his five daughters or their representatives. (See p. 124.)

fol. 1f. terris . . 2 tenementis omnibus in quibus Anglici habent ingressum per hibernicos sive per balivos nostros vel predecessorum nostrorum iniuste et sine waranto nostro vel predecessorum nostrorum et salvis nobis et successoribus nostris duabus partibus graue (a) nostre propinquioribus terre Richardi de Troja, 3 et vt hec nostra donacio concessio et Confirmatio rata et stabilis imperpetuum permaneat (β) presentem Cartam sigillo nostro Communi (γ), vnacum sigillo dicti Capituli nostri Coroboravimus hiis testibus H. de Pembrock, 4 tunc decano Cathedralis nostri (δ), Th. de Gravill, Archidiacono, δ (ϵ) magistro Roberto de Serdeli, Willelmo Ouluer Canonico dicte

^{1 &}quot;History of the Diocese of Ossory," Rev. William Carrigan.

² ms. torn.

³ On the partition (after 1245) of the lordship of Leinster, the homage and service of Richard Troy in Bablorkan (Ballylarkan) and Drumdelgyn were excepted from the Earl of Gloucester's purparty. (C. D. I. Sweetman, vol. ii., p. 325.) From this family is named Troyes Wood, near Kilkenny.

⁴ Dean, 1245–1250.

⁵ Archdeacon, 1244–1258.

⁽a) grane in orig. (β) permanet in orig. (γ) sigilli nostri Commune in erig.

⁽⁸⁾ cathedrali nostro in orig. (e) archideacono in orig.

ecclesie nostre, G. de sancto leogario, tunc Thesaurario, magistro Vustast, tunc precentore, magistro Johanne Ruffo, Johanne Longo, Clerico, Rogero Bengrant, Canonico dicte ecclesie nostre, Radulpho filio Johannis (a) tunc Senescallo nostro (β) et aliis.

Examinata verbo in verbum cum originali Whit Book, folio 5^{to} eiusdem libri.

Carta H. episcopi Elie Caractario de xxj acris in dominio de kilkenia.

Vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. H. miseratione divina ossoriensis Episcopus salutem eternam in domino. Nouerit Vniuersitas vestra nos de communi assensu decani et Capituli nostri sancti Canici Kilkenie Concessisse et confirmasse Elie Carectario xxj accras terre de dominio nostro de Kilkenia in libero soccagio (γ) habendas et tenendas sibi et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum et in pace libere et quiete. Reddendo inde annuatim ipse et heredes sui nobis et successoribus nostris xij denarios pro qualibet accra medietatem (δ) ad pascha et aliam medietatem (δ) ad festum sancti michael[is²] et ad Ecclesiam sancti Canici kilkenie C libras (ϵ) cere (η) ad pentecosten (θ) pro omni servicio exaccione et demanda Salvis nobis et successoribus nostris sectis Curie et molendinorum nostrorum. Et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem presenti scripto sigillum nostrum vnacum sigillo Capituli nostri apponi fecimus.

hec donatio examinata [cum originali²] libro albo domini Episcopi et illic invenies in . . . ² to eiusdem libri.

Carta H. Episcopi Wil[lelimo] . . . * terre in dominio de kilkenia.

fol. 1d.

Vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis etc. Hugo permissione divina Episcopus ossoriensis salutem eternam in domino Nouerit (ι) vniuersitas vestra nos de Comuni assensu et concensu decani et Capituli nostri sancti Canici kilkenie, Concessisse et confirmasse Willelimo de [blank] septem decem accras terre in dominico nostro de kilkenia in libero soccagio (γ) habendas et tenendas sibi et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum in pace libere et quiete Reddendo inde annuatim ipse et heredes sui nobis et successoribus nostris xij denarios pro qualibet acra ad duos anni terminos medietatem ad pascha et aliam medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad luminarium ecclesie sancti Canici dimidium libre

(γ) liberum soccagium in orig.

The words in italics are struck out in the original.

² torn.

⁽a) Johanni in orig.

⁽β) nostri in orig.(e) libri in orig.

⁽η) cerei in orig.

⁽⁸⁾ mediatem in orig. (8) pentecoste in orig.

⁽¹⁾ Nouerint in orig.

cere (a) ad pentecosten pro omni servicio exaccione et demaunda salvis nobis et successoribus nostris sectis Curie et molendinorum nostrorum, et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem presenti scripto sigillum nostrum vnacum sigillo Capituli nostri apponi fecimus.

Examinata cum originali whitbook et illic invenies in folio 5^{to} de A.

Carta Nicholai Pioine¹ ad G. Episcopum Ossoriensem.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Nicholaus Pyoine dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi venerabili patri domino G. ossoriensi Episcopo decem acras terre cum pertinenciis in bosco meo de Glashecro propinquiores bosco eiusdem domini Episcopi de Achehur's sicut eadem (8) sunt perambulate et mensurate habendas et tenendas dictas decem acras terre et dimidium cum pertinentiis in eodem bosco meo sibi et successoribus suis de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete [blank] et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuctudinibus ad liberum tenementum spectantibus. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis ipse et successores sui vnum denarium argenti ad pascha pro omni servicio exaccione et demanda pro hac autem donatione concessione et carte confirmacione dedit mihi predictus Episcopus decem marcas argenti pre manibus. Ego vero dictus Nicholaus et heredes mei dictas decem acras et d[i4]midium terre cum pertinenciis in dicto bosco meo eidem E[piscopo et¹] successoribus suis contra omnes gentes warantiza-[bimus'] [acquieta']bimus et defendemus imperpetuum In cuius

Examinata cum originali whit book et ibi invenies folio tertio de hj.

fol. 2f. [Carta⁴] Willelimi Marescalli Comitis Pembr[oc⁴]k [et Isabelle⁴] Comitisse vxoris sue ad Hugonem ossoriensem Ep[iscopum⁴].

Willelimus Marescallus Comes Pennbrocke omnibus ad quos presens Carta pervenerit salutem. Sciatis me recepisse ex donacione H. ossoriensis Episcopi et concessione totius Capituli sui villam de Aghe[bo^s] cum omnibus pertinentiis et cum omnibus Clameis (γ) terrarum quas idem (δ) Episcopus clamabat in Cantredo de Aghebo, habendam pro homagio et servicio meo et tenendam mihi et heredibus meis de dicto Episcopo et successoribus suis in feodo et

4 torn.

¹ On the partition (after 1245) of the lordship of Leinster, the homage and service of John de Pioniis in Glascro were excepted from the Earl of Gloucester's purparty. (C. D. I., Sweetman, vol. ii., p. 325.)

² Glashcrow, Co. Kilk.

³ Aghour, or Freehford, Co. Kilk.

⁵ Aghaboe, Queen's Co. St. Canice founded a monastery here in the sixth century.

⁽a) cerei in orig.

 $^{(\}beta)$ eidem in orig.

⁽γ) Clamis in orig.

⁽³⁾ eldem in orig.

hereditate libere et quiete integre et honorifice in bosco et in plano et in omnibus aliis locis cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus sicut carta mea quam habeo de eodem Episcopo testatur, Reddendo inde annuatim Cathedrali Ecclesie de kilken[ia1] ad festum sancti Canici duos Cereos sex libras cere (a) pro omni servitio et exaccione, Et quamvis idem (β) Episcopus sicut premissum est predictam villam de Aghebo cum pertinentiis mihi donaverit pro homagio et servicio meo tamen vt ego ei et successoribus eius plenius benefacerem dedi et concessi assensu et concensu Comitisse Isabelle vxoris mee iam dicto Episcopo et successoribus suis octo Carucatas terre in locis ei vtilibus et competentibus videlicet, Ballysly' pro tribus Carucatis et Growin³ pro quatuor Carucatis cum beneficio Ecclesiastico eiusdem terre, et vnam Carucata[m1] terre ex altra parte pontis de Insnacké versus [blank] perpetuo possidendas. Insuper dedi et concessi eidem Episcopo et suis successoribus ius patronum ecclesiarum Beate Marie de kilkenia et sancti Patricii de donaghmore cum omnibus suis pertinentiis habendum sibi in Commutation[em1] patronatus Ecclesie sancti Canici in villa de Aghebo et aliar[um1] omnium Ecclesiarum eiusdem loci cum omnibus ad easdem pertinentibus vt autem hec mea donatio rata et inconcussa permaneat eam sigillo meo et sigillo Comitisse Isabelle vxoris mee confirmavi hiis testibus

Examinata cum originali whit booke et illic inveni[es¹] inscripta hec donati[o¹] folio secundo eiusdem libri de C.

Carta Burgensium de donaghmore videlicet the mannor of S^t Patrick's in fol. 24. Kilkeny.

Vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit &c. H. de Pembrocke decanus Cathedralis Ecclesie sancti Canici kilkenie salutem eternam in domino Noueritis nos de concensu Capituli nostri sancti Canici kilkenie Concessisse et confirmasse burgensibus nostris de donaghmore de parochia sancti Patritii Kilkeniæ villæ (γ) burgagia sua scilicet Willelimo Bren vnum messuagium pro quatuor denariis. Simoni fileming vnum messuagium pro sex denariis Rogero filio Henrici pro (δ) vnum messuagium pro xij denariis Rogero filio Ade vnum messuagium pro x denariis Rogero Clerico vnum messuagium pro xij denariis Radulpho hore vnum messuagium pro xij denariis Willelimo Lefeti vnum messuagium pro quatuor denariis Philippo Kifte vnum messuagium pro ix denariis Mauritio filio dennis vnum messuagium

¹ torn. ² Ballynaslee, near Durrow.

³ Grevine, near Kilkenny.

^{*} Ennisnag, near Stoneyford.

cerei in erig. (B) eidem in orig.

 $^{(\}gamma)$ villa in orig.

⁽⁸⁾ so in orig.

pro xij denariis Iohanni Auncet vnum messuagium pro xij denariis Waltero Lonelt vnum messuagium [pro] ij solidis Ade Bruges vnum messuagium pro xij denariis Phillippo Kifte vnum messuagium Ade Capulo vnum messuagium habenda et tenenda (a) sibi et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris libere et quiete cum omnibus libertatibus quas habent burgenses domini Episcopi in villa kilkenie Reddendo inde annuatim ipsi et heredes nobis et successoribus nostris medietatem (β) predicti redditus ad festum sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem (β) ad Pascha (γ) et ad Luminaria Ecclesie sancti Canici kilkenia vnam Libram Cere (δ) annuatim ad festum Pentecostes pro omni servicio exaccione et demanda dicti vero burgenses dicta burgagia inhabitabunt vel inhabitari (ϵ) facient, vt hec nostra donatio concessio et confirmacio rata et stabilis permaneat presenti scripto &c.

Examinata cum originali whit book et ibi invenies in folio secundo et tertio de A.

fol. 3f. [C¹]arta Roberti parmentarii kilkeniensis de stagno molendini de greer's mill.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus parmentarius kilkeniensis remisi et quietum clamavi pro me heredibus et assignatis domino H. Episcopo ossoriensi et eius successoribus imperpetuum totum damnum quod habui vel habere potero de cetero imperpetuum in terra mea quam habeo in tenemento Richardi Troje militis per invndationem aque de le Noere ratione stagni molendini sui in eadem aqua constructi apud kilkeniam pro vna acra terre quam mihi et heredibus meis et assignatis in recompensatione dicti damni ratione dicti stagni illati vel de cetero inferrendi idem (η) dominus Episcopus in feodo (θ) $firma^2$ assignavit in tenement $[0^1]$ suo de kilkenia, Ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei vel assignati nec aliquis pro nobis a predicto H. Episcopo vel successoribus suis ratione damni pretextu (ι) stagni molendini predicti nobis illati vel de cetero inferendi aliquid exigere poterimus sed ipsos imperpetuum contra omnes gentes quoad predictum damnum [blank] indampnos, hiis testibus Iohanne Redeb $[e^1]$ r $[de^1]$, Richardo Palmer tunc preposito kilkenie et aliis.

Examinata cum originali whit booke et ibi invenies inscripta folio secundo eiusdem libri de A.

| 1 torn. | ² struck out | ² struck out in original. | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| (a) habendum et ten (3) Cerei in orig. (6) feodi in orig. | endum in orig. | (β) mediatem in orig. (ε) inhabitare in orig. (ι) pretextui.in orig. | (γ) Pasche in orig. (η) eidem in orig. | | | | | |

Carta Willelimi filii (a) Almaricii et heredum(s) bone memorie Galfridi dei gratia quondam ossoriensis Episcopi. (γ)

Vniuersis has literas visuris vel audituris Willelimus filius Almaritii et heredes bone memorie Galfridi (8) de sancto Leogario dei gratia quondam ossoriensis Episcopi (e) salutem in domino sempiternam Nouerit vniuersitas ves tra me pro me et heredibus meis remisisse et quietum clamasse imperpetuum venerabili patri Rogero dei gratia [ossoriensi episco¹]po et successoribus suis et Ecclesie sancti Can[ici Kilkenie¹] omne ius et clameum quod habui habeo [vel habebo de ce']tero in terris et tenementis domibus esceatis et redditibus fol. 3d. imamenentes... 1 eosdem confect ... 1 per dominum Galfridum emptis in Crocio . . .¹ Crocea ossoriensi et in decem acris (η) bosci cum solo que emit de Nicholao Pioine. Ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei vel assignati nec aliquis nomine nostro aliquum ius aut clameum in predictis terris et tenementis domibus redditibus escaetis imminentes necnon et in decem acris terre in tenemento de Clashecro exigere sev vindicare poterimus imperpetuum In culius rei testimonium, &c.

Carta terre marescalli. (θ)

Hec est Convencio facta inter Petrum Episcopum ossoriensem ex vna parte et Thomam de Leger Ricardum filium Iohannis Redmondum filium Roberti et Ronaldum filium Iohannis ex altera parte, videlicet, quod idem Episcopus cum assensu Capituli Ecclesie Cathedralis de kilkenia tradidit concessit et presenti scripto confirmavit dicto Thome &c. totam terram quam Cannicus et kathela tenuerunt de de (1) eodem Episcopo vltra amnem versus orientem a Curia eiusdem Episcopi preter insulam que est iuxta magnam aquam quam idem Episcopus tenuit in manu sua. Tenendam et habendam illis et heredibus suis de eodem Episcopo et successoribus suis iure hereditario (k) Reddendo inde annuatim dicto Episcopo et successoribus suis quatuor marcas argenti pro omni servitio videlicet medietatem (λ) ad pascha et aliam (μ) medietatem (λ) ad festum beati michaelis et Ecclesie sancti Canici kilkenie quatuor denarios in festo Pasche, Salvis decimis eiusdem terre que pertinent ad Ecclesiam sancti Canici hanc autem convencionem tenendam vtraque pars sigillo suo Coroborsvit, Et dicti homines ipsam convencionem firmiter observandam affidaverunt

¹ torn.

⁽a) fili im oria.

⁽⁸⁾ Galfrido in orig.

⁽¹⁾ Marishcallis in orig.

⁽A) mediatas in oris.

⁽B) heredes in orig.

⁽e) episcopo in orig.

⁽¹⁾ word repeated in orig.

⁽μ) alia in orig.

⁽γ) episcopo in orig.

⁽n) acras in orig.

⁽x) hereditarie in orig.

et in predicta terra debent edificia construere et ibidem habitare hiis ≤ [testibus¹] &c.

Examinata [cum¹] orig[inali Whit book e¹]t ibi invenies in folio 3° de A.

[Carta 1] Hugonis ossoriensis Episcopi Thome vn[ch de 1] duobus Burgagiis et v acris (a) terre.

vniversis matris Ecclesie filiis presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Hugo miseratione divina ossoriensis Episcopus et Ecclesie minister humilis (s) salutem (γ) in domino Noveritis nos de concensu et assensu decani et Capituli nostri sancti Canici kilkenie Concessisse et hac presenti charta nostra confirmasse Thome vnch Civi nostro kilkenie duo burgagia iacentia iuxta viam publicam que extendit versus domum fratrum predicatorum ex parte boriali cum v acris (8) terre in tenemento nostro kilken[ie] ad dicta burgagia pertinentia (ɛ) que Iohannes Le Messager aliquando de nobis tenuit. Habenda et tenenda de nobis et successoribus nostris sibi et heredibus suis vel assignatis libere et quiete integre pacifice et hereditarie cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consue[tu¹]dinibus ad Libera burgagia ville nostre kilkenie spectantibus Reddendo inde annuatim ipse et heredes sui vel assignati nobis et successoribus nostris duos solidos argenti ad duos anni terminos, videlicet, xij denarios ad festum Michaelis et xij denarios ad festum Pasche et ecclesie sancti Canici Kilkenie dimidium libre (η) Cere (θ) in dicto festo pasche pro omni servicio exaccione et demanda et vt hec nostra donacio concessio et charte confirmac[io1] firma et stabilis imperpetuum perseveret presenti sc[ripto1] sigillum nostrum vna cum sigillo Communi dicti Capitu[li1] nostri fecimus apponi hiis testibus &c.

Carta Hugonis ossoriensis Episcopi (ι) Richardo Palmer de xxv acris (δ) terre in libero soccagio. (κ)

Vniversis sancte matris Ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit H. miseratione divina ossoriensis Episcopus salutem eternam in domino Noverit vniversitas vestra nos de communi assensu et [consen¹] su decani et Capituli nostri sancti Canici Kil[kenie concessi¹]sse et confirmasse Richardo Palmer xx[v acras terre in¹] dominico [me¹]o de Kil[kenia¹] in libero(x)

¹ torn.

⁽a) accras in orig.

⁽B) humiles in orig.

⁽γ) salutim in orig.(η) libri in orig.

⁽⁸⁾ acras in orig.

⁽e) pertinencta in orig.

⁽a) liberum socongium in origi

⁽⁰⁾ Ceree in orig.

⁽¹⁾ Episcopo in orig.

soccagio habendas (a) et te[nendas sibi¹] et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris...¹ in pace et quiete. Reddendo inde annuatim ipse et heredes sui nobis et successoribus nostris xij denarios pro qualibet acra ad duos anni terminos medietatem (s) ad pascha (γ) et aliam medietatem (s) ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Luminaria ecclesie sancti Canici Kilkenie dimidium libre (δ) cere pro omni servicio exaccione et demanda Salvis nobis et successoribus nostris sectis molendinorum nostrorum et Curie, Et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem presenti scripto sigillum nostrum vnacum sigillo Capituli nostri apponi fecimus hiis testibus

Examinata cum originali whitbook et ibi invenies folio 5° eiusdem libri de A.

Carta Hugonis ossoriensis Episcopi Waltero [blank] de vij acris (ɛ) terre.

Vniversis sancte matris ecclesie filiis H. permissione divina ossoriensis Episcopus eternam salutem in domino. Noverit vniuersitas vestra nos de communi assensu decani et Capituli nostri sancti Canici kilkenie concessisse et confirmasse Waltero [blank] vij acras terre de dominico nostro de kilkenia in libero soccagio (η) habendas et tenendas sibi et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris et in pace libere et quiete Reddendo inde annuatim ipse et heredes sui nobis et successoribus nostris xij denarios pro qualibet acra ad duos anni terminos medietatem (β) ad pascha et aliam medietatem (β) ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Luminaria sancti ecclesie [Canici¹] dimidium libre (δ) cere ad Pentecosten pro omni ser[vicio exaccione¹] et demanda Salvis nobis et su[ccessoribus nostris¹] sectis Curie et molendinorum [nostrorum¹] Et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem prese[nti scripto¹] sigillum nostrum vna cum sigillo Communi Capituli nostri apponi fecimus hiis testibus

fol. 5f.

Examinata cum originali whitbooke et ibi invenies folio 5° eiusdem libri de A.

Carta Willelimi Marshiall Comitis Pembrock ad Hugonem ossoriensem Episcopum de vna vncia auri.

Willelimus Marascallus Comes Pembrock vicecomiti kilkenie et omnibus balivis suis ibidem constitutis salutem (θ) Nouerit vniuersitas vestra

¹ torn.

⁽a) habendum in orig.
(b) acras in orig.
(c) acras in orig.
(d) liberum soccagium in orig.

⁽⁸⁾ libri in orig.(θ) salutim in orig.

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me et heredes meos pos[t¹] me debere Hugoni ossoriensi Episcopo et successoribus suis vnam vnciam auri percipiendam de prepositatu meo kilkenie singulis annis ad terminum pasche. Quare vobis mando firmiter precipiens quod a eam illi et successoribus eius ita omni occacione et dilacione post posita faciatis habere. Ad maiorem huius rei securitatem hi[is¹] presentibus sigillum meum apposui.

Examinata cum originali whitbook et ibi invenies folio primo eiusdem libri de A.

Inquisitio Capta de eadem vncia auri.

[1331]. Inquisitio Capta Apud kilkeniam in vigilia Circumcisionis (n) domini anno [blank (s)] per Richardum Palmerum Simonem Kennagh Alexander [sic] de Sal[isbury1] Simonem Ryke, Philippum Kiffte Iordanum $A^{1}(\delta)$ ctehull Richar[dum](δ) Molendinarium(γ) [Richardum Kerd¹](δ)iff Ga[lfridum¹](8) de Axebridge magistrum Rober[tum Molen¹]dinarium fol. 6d. Henricum Album et Walterum Co[lte1](8) Iurati dicunt quod Hugo quondam Ossoriensis Episcopus et successores sui consueverunt recipere singulis annis vnam vnciam auri quandoque de prepositura ville kilkenie per manum prepositorum ibidem et aliquando de [scaccario](δ) Castri kilkenie per manus Thesaurarii et balivorum pro vna parte terre que se extendit a quodam fonte qui (¿) vocatur Kenerokeswell' vsque ad aquam que vocatur bregaghe que Currit subtus pontem qui dicitur Cottrell's quamquidem partem terre predictus Hugo Episcopus concessit domino Willelimo Comiti Mariscallo et heredibus suis ad amplandam villam pro predicta vncia auri singulis annis percipienda de prepositura predicte ville quamquidem vnciam Episcopi ossorienses successive recipere consueverunt annuatim quovsque terra Lageniensis (θ) partita fuit inter coheredes Comitis Walteri et Anselmi Mariscalli. Et super hoc exhibita fuit carta predicti Willelimi Mariscalli que hoc testatur cuius transcriptum presentibus est inclusum, dicunt etiam quod predictus Comes et antecessores sui consueverunt recipere tolnetum de villa predicti Episcopi ab hora diei veneris nona vsque ad horam diei sabbathi nonam credunt tamen quod predictus Episcopus habet ius ad

¹ torn.

² Now called St. Kieran's well.

³ Cottrell's bridge stood where Watergate bridge now crosses the Breagagh. Cottrell was an early name among the burgesses of Kilkenny.

⁽a) quater in orig.

⁽β) regni regis Edwardi tercii quarto, in Bp. Rothe's De Ossoriensi Diocesi; Sloane Mas., Brit. Mus., No. 4796.

⁽γ) cissorem, ibid.

⁽³⁾ Supplied from Bp. Rothe's Ms.

⁽e) que in orig.

⁽a) Circumsitionis in orig.

⁽⁶⁾ Laginensis in orig.

predictum tolnetum, sed nihil inde sciunt nisi per quandam Cartam predicti Willelimi Mariscalli eis exhibitam ex qua presumitur quod idem Willelimus Mariscallus habuit mercatum predicte ville kilkenie ex concessione predicti Hugonis Episcopi ad terminum decem annorum de prefato et post terminum decem annorum deb[eat merca(a)] tum eidem Episcopo restitui et reuerti sicut pl[enius patet(a)] in eadem carta cuius transcriptum simi[liter(a)] inclusum et dicunt dictum tolnetum val[et quinque(a)] solidos [per annum(a)].

Vniuersis....¹ Hugo permissione divina ossoriensis Episcopus salutem (β) eternam in domino Nouerit (γ) vniuersitas vestra nos de Communi assensu decani et Capituli nostri sancti Canici kilkenia dedisse concessisse et Confirmasse Rogero de Leon Clerico illam plateam iuxta domum nostram ex opposito Ecclesie sancti Canici kilkenie ex parte occidentali quamquidem plateam Padinus faber sagittarius de nobis aliquando tenuit habendam et tenendam sibi et heredibus vel suis assignatis vel cuicumque eam dare vendere legare vel assignare volue[rint¹] Reddendo inde annuatim ipse et heredes ve[l¹] assignati vel illi quibuscunque illam plateam dederit venderit Legauerit vel assigna[uerit¹] nobis et succes[s¹]ori[bus¹] nostris sex dennarios ad duos anni terminos medietatem(δ) videlicet ad pascha (ε) aliam medietatem(δ) \mathbf{a}^{A} ε₂· ι n sancti Mich[aelis¹] pro omni servicio exaccione et demaunda. Et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem presenti scripto sigillum nostrum vna cum sigillo Capituli nostri aponi fecimus hiis testibus &c.

Examinata cum originali whitbooke et ibi invenies folio quinto et sexto eiusdem libri de A.

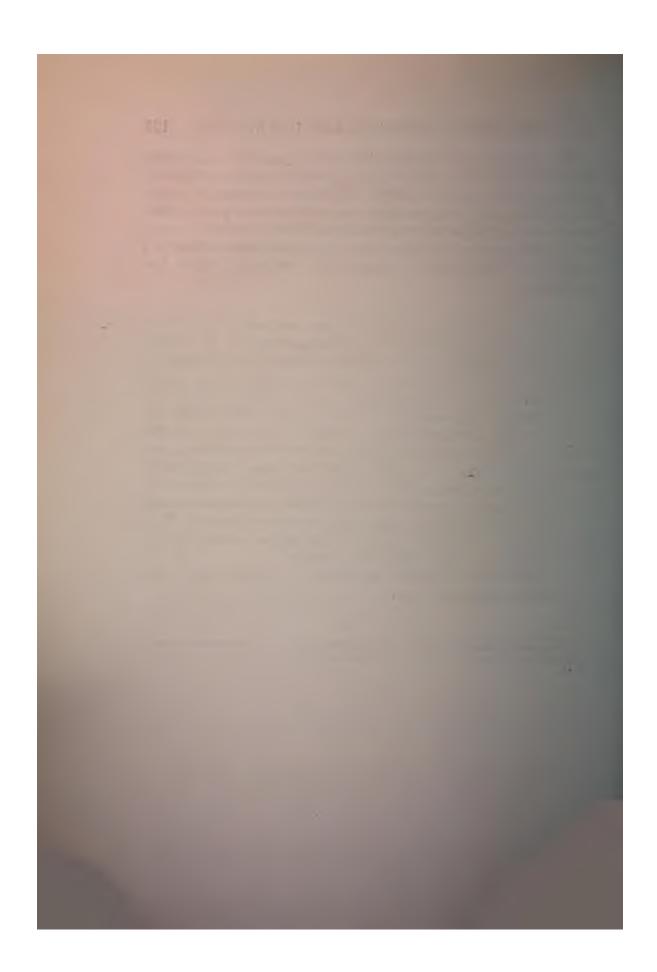
¹ torn.

⁽a) Supplied from Bp. Rothe's Ms.(3) mediatem in orig.

⁽β) salutim in orig.

⁽γ) Nouerint in orig.

⁽e) pasche in orig.



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predictum tolnetum, sed nihil inde sciunt nisi per quandam Cartam predicti Willelimi Mariscalli eis exhibitam ex qua presumitur quod idem Willelimus Mariscallus habuit mercatum predicte ville kilkenie ex concessione predicti Hugonis Episcopi ad terminum decem annorum de prefato et post terminum decem annorum deb[eat merca(a)¹]tum eidem Episcopo restitui et reuerti sicut pl[enius patet(a)¹] in eadem carta cuius transcriptum simi[liter(a)¹] inclusum et dicunt dictum tolnetum val[et quinque(a)¹] solidos [per annum(a)].

Vniuersis ¹ Hugo permissione divina ossoriensis Episcopus salutem (β) eternam in domino Nouerit (γ) vniuersitas vestra nos de Communi assensu decani et Capituli nostri sancti Canici kilkenia dedisse concessisse et Confirmasse Rogero de Leon Clerico illam plateam iuxta domum nostram ex opposito Ecclesie sancti Canici kilkenie ex parte occidentali quamquidem plateam Padinus faber sagittarius de nobis aliquando tenuit habendam et tenendam sibi et heredibus vel suis assignatis vel cuicumque eam dare vendere legare vel assignare volue[rint¹] Reddendo inde annuatim ipse et heredes ve[1¹] assignati vel illi quibuscunque illam plateam dederit venderit Legauerit vel assigna[uerit¹] nobis et succes[s¹]ori[bus¹] nostris sex dennarios ad duos anni terminos medietatem (δ) videlicet ad pascha (ε) aliam medietatem (δ) ad festum sancti Mich[aelis¹] pro omni servicio exaccione et demaunda. Et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem presenti scripto sigillum nostrum vna cum sigillo Capituli nostri aponi fecimus hiis testibus &c.

Examinata cum originali whitbooke et ibi invenies folio quinto et sexto eiusdem libri de A.

I torn.

⁽a) Supplied from Bp. Rothe's Ms.

⁽⁸⁾ mediatem in orig.

⁽B) salutim in orig.

⁽e) pasche in orig.

⁽γ) Nouerint in orig.

IV.

ELIAS BOUHÉREAU OF LA ROCHELLE, FIRST PUBLIC LIBRARIAN IN IRELAND.

BY NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, D.D., M.R.I.A.,

Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin; Professor of Biblical Greek in the University of Dublin; and Keeper of Marsh's Library.

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THE moving cause of this paper is to be found in the restoration to Marsh's Library of a portion of the private correspondence of the first Library-keeper, Élie Bouhéreau; and its publication will be justified if it is the means of calling the attention of historical students to the whereabouts of a mass of original material for the social and general history of the Huguenots in and near La Rochelle, from about 1660 to 1685.

It is necessary here to anticipate a little, and explain how this correspondence came originally to Marsh's Library, and by what means it was subsequently lost. In the Calendar of Treasury Papers, January 22nd, 1708-9, there may be read an abstract of the petition of Dr. Elias Bouhéreau—a pathetic document to those who read with knowledge of the man and his story—in which these words occur:—"Was a stranger, and left France for his religion's sake, and brought over nothing with him but a numerous family and his books, value 500l., which he gave to the library."

Besides the printed books (considerably over 2000), in consideration of which, as it was put, Bouhéreau was made Library-keeper, he also deposited in 1714 in the library, for safe keeping, a strong box, the chief contents of which were the archives of the French Protestant Church of La Rochelle. The Governors of the Library then ordered "that they were to be kept until such time as the same shall be demanded by the said Reformed Church." This entry in the Visitation Minute Book gives credence to a statement by S. Smiles, in The Huguenots in England and Ireland (p. 367), that "when the strong box was opened, a paper was found in it in the doctor's handwriting, directing that, in the event of the Protestant Consistory at La Rochelle

¹ There was apparently a reservation in this gift; for Dr. Bouhéreau left to his son John "such of my Books as he will chuse for himself." It does not appear whether John availed himself of this legacy or not.

becoming reconstituted and reclaiming the papers, they should be given up." The next notice of the documents is in 1760, when the Library-keeper, the Rev. John Wynne, is "apprehensive that the Papists might have access to make bad use of or destroy them." Eventually, in 1862, they were returned to the Consistory of La Rochelle; and, according to Smiles (l. c.), "Pastor Delmas, the President, has since published, with their assistance, a history of the Protestant Church of La Rochelle."

It may be questioned if there is any other instance on record of the restoration of valuable manuscripts by a library after the lapse of nearly 150 years. There was at least one person who was pained by this extraordinary instance of library honesty; and that was Robert Travers, M.D., who held the post of assistant librarian from 1841 to 1887. (Died 28th March, 1888.) Dr. Travers was also Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Dublin from 1864. The preservation of the books in Marsh's Library was a passion with him. He used to spend much time in searching the Dublin second-hand bookstalls for stolen volumes which he would purchase and restore. In 1828 he had been specially thanked by the Governors for his "laudable exertions" in the discovery of an "infamous villain" who had "secretly conveyed away several of the books and sold the same." The traces he has left on the Catalogue and Minute Book point to an accurate and scholarly man with a rare power of exquisite penmanship.

In addition to the La Rochelle Church papers, the strong box mentioned above contained the private correspondence of Dr. Bouhéreau—letters addressed to him between 1661 and 1685. From a memorandum in my hands it appears that, in 1853, Dr. Travers went methodically over the contents of the box, noting precisely the contents of each bundle of papers, including the letters, and adding notes; and before the public documents returned to La Rochelle he drew up, in 1862, an elaborate inventory of them, which is, in fact, the formal receipt, signed at the foot of each page by H. C. Mecredy, as agent for the French Church. But besides this précis, Travers, as we know now, actually copied out the documents in extenso, and began to make notes of the addresses of the private letters.

However, until December, 1903, the only representative of the contents of Bouhéreau's strong box remaining in Marsh's Library was the inventory of Church archives just mentioned. There were other MSS., of which I shall give an account further on; but I knew nothing of the existence of the Private correspondence.

On the 5th December, 1903, I received a letter from Mr. T. P. Le Fanu, in which he said:

"In going through some papers which belonged to the late Dr. La Touche,

[20*]

I came across some letters which appear to belong to Marsh's Library. The letters run from 1662 to 1685, but are mostly of the years 1663-4-5 and 1684-5, and are addressed to M. Bouhéreau, who was afterwards, as of course you know, the first Librarian of your library.

"There are four bundles of original letters, and one bundle of copies of similar letters with translation. I have been unable to find the originals of these copies.

"A copy of a memorandum by Dr. Travers [rather, the Rev. T. R. W. Cradock] on the Bouhéreau Mss. which accompanied the letters, states that these papers are tied up in thirteen separate bundles wrapped each in blue paper. The letters which I have found are wrapped in old-fashioned blue paper; and three of the bundles are numbered: no. eleven, no. twelve, and no. thirteen. Their identity is therefore, I think, clearly established; and as they are of much interest to any student of Huguenot history, I should be glad to restore them to your custody."

A day or two afterwards Mr. Le Fanu brought the long-lost letters back to their original home; but I had not time to investigate their contents until February, 1905. It was just as well that the pressure of more important business prevented my attempting to make public the results of my investigations on these letters; for in December, 1905, I learnt from the Rev. T. K. Abbott, S.F.T.C.D., that Lord Iveagh had offered to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, a quantity of letters addressed to Dr. Bouhéreau, which he had purchased from the representatives of Dr. Travers.

When I laid the facts of the case before Dr. Abbott, he very kindly undertook to suggest to Lord Iveagh that the letters should rather be restored to Marsh's Library, where they would be at home. His lordship graciously assented; and six bundles of documents were committed to my custody on the 8th January, 1906, by Mr. Henry S. Guinness. I have since ascertained from a friend of Dr. Travers that when the Huguenot archives were restored to La Rochelle in 1862, the then Library-keeper, the Rev. T. R. W. Cradock, presented the private letters to his assistant, Dr. Travers, on the ground that they were not worth preservation in the Library. On the death of Dr. Travers, his representatives gave some of the letters to this friend, who transferred them to Dr. J. J. Digges La Touche, and the rest were purchased by Lord Iveagh. Dr. La Touche edited in 1903, for the Huguenot Society of London, the Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin; a volume of which I have made much use for the purposes of this memoir.

We have twenty-three letters copied, as being of special interest, for Touche. The originals of these, with perhaps one exception, have

been lost irrevocably. The copies are not very satisfactory, so that I have not made any use of them here. But the original collection must have suffered loss long before Dr. Travers commenced his investigations. There are constant references in the extant letters to Bouhéreau's correspondence with Valentine Conrart, the first secretary of the French Academy, and with Tanneguy Le Fèvre, the well-known classical scholar. Not a single letter from either is forthcoming, nor is one noted in Travers's memorandum. It must be stated, however, that, in the printed collection of Le Fèvre's Epistolae, Pars altera, Saumur, 1665, there are no fewer than twenty-one addressed Ad Eliam Boherellum, amicum suum; and Dr. La Touche had two others copied; but the date as copied, 1677, is evidently a blunder.

It is possible that the letters of Valentine Conrart to Bouhéreau were returned by the latter to Conrart's literary executors, with a view to their publication. The collection as it remains, however, is not devoid of literary interest. The following are names of men who "were honoured in their generations, and were a glory in their days":—

Marc-Antoine de la Bastide (1624-1704), one of Conrart's literary executors, and who revised and corrected his metrical version of the Psalms; Paul Bauldry, historian, born at Rouen, 1639, died at Utrecht, 1706, where he had been professor of sacred history; Moïse Charas (1618-1698), an eminent physician and chemist, received with high honours when he visited England; Pierre Chauvin, philosopher and theologian; Jean Robert Chouet (1642-1731), who, at the age of twenty-two, was professor of philosophy at Saumur, and, returning to Geneva in 1669, maintained there the system of Descartes, and was "the master of Bayle and Basnage"; Benjamin D'Aillon, theologian, who, after holding a post at the Church of La Potente in London, became minister to the French congregation in Carlow, and died there, 1709; Laurent Drelincourt (1626-1681), author of Sonnets Chrétiens-there is an account of his ordination as pastor at La Rochelle by his more famous father, Charles, in 1651, in a work by the latter, classed in Marsh's Library, R 5. 6. 27; Etienne Gaussen, died at Saumur, 1675, where he had been successively professor of philosophy, of theology, and Head of the Academy in succession to Amyraut; André Lortie, and Elie Merlat (1634-1705), controversialists; Jean Rou (1638-1711), historian and chronologer; and Jacques Du Rondel, to whom Bayle dedicated the prospectus of his Dictionary.

These that I have named have an honourable place in the Nouvelle Biographic Générale, and were, all of them, intimate friends of Élie Bouhéreau.

While sorting out these letters, and reading such as were easily legible, it occurred to me that it would be an act of piety towards the memory of

the first Keeper of Marsh's Library if his latest successor were to bring together whatever may be known about his life—a life, strenuous, beneficent, enriched by considerable learning, but maimed by the persecution for religion from which he eventually found a harbour of refuge in St. Patrick's Something has already been done to preserve the memory of Elie Bouhéreau. He has an honourable place in Haag's La France Protestante, and in the Rev. David C. A. Agnew's Protestant Exiles from France in the reign of Louis XIV. (second ed., London, 1871: see especially vol. ii., p. 140); and the late Professor G. Stokes, D.D., in his accounts of Marsh's Library (Proceedings R.I.A., ser. 3, vol. iv., p. 415, and Some Worthies of the Irish Church, pp. 116, sqq.), gave some information about the first Librarian. But these writers had not before them the private letters, although one of the letters restored by Lord Iveagh, that from M. Rou, is quoted by Agnew, who also makes other statements which I have reason to believe he learnt from Travers. Something also may be gathered from two little books by a friend and contemporary of Bouhéreau's, Pastor Delaizement—Hist. des Reformez de la Rochelle depuis l'année 1660, Amsterdam, 1689, and his edition of Recherches sur les commencemens...de la Reformation en la ville de la Rochelle, par Phil. Vincent, Rotterdam, 1693.

Élie Bouhéreau was born at La Rochelle, on May 5th, 1643, according to a MS. journal, kept by his uncle, Joseph Guillandeau, which is among the Bouhéreau MSS. in Marsh's Library, but in 1642 according to Haag. Either date agrees fairly well with Bouhéreau's own statement (Cal. Treas. Papers, Jan. 22, 1708-9) that he was sixty-eight years old when sending in his petition for the continuance of his pension. He was the only surviving son of Élie Bouhéreau, pastor, first at Fontenay, and subsequently at La Rochelle, and, according to Smiles, President of the Consistory. His father died while he was yet a boy. This is indicated in the inscription on the title-page of a college prize (classed R 1. 4. 15)—first for Greek and Latin in the second class—won by Bouhéreau at Saumur, 1st Nov., 1656, in which he is described as Elias Boherellus Rupellans:... praestantissimi viriet fidelissimi Verbi Dei in Ecclesia Rupellana olim dum vixit Praeconis filiminime degener. The book is an edition of Pindar by Johannes Benedictus, Saumur, 1620. This inscription disposes of the supposition, mentioned by

¹ There are very brief notices of him in the Biographie Universalle and in the Noncelle Biographie Générale. Firmin Didot Frères.

² The numbers 5 and 1643 have been rewritten in later ink, possibly by Bouhéreau himself, in the entry relating to his father's marriage, 13th February, 1635. Élie Bouhéreau, the grandfather of Dr. Bouhéreau, was a merchant.

Benedictus was a doctor of medicine, and also professor of Greek at Saumur. There is also an edition of Lucian by him (2 vols., Saumur, 1619) among Boubéreau's books in March's Library.

Agnew, that his father came over with him to England in 1686. Since writing the above, I have ascertained, through the kindness of M. Meschinet de Richemond, Archiviste Honoraire de La Rochelle, that Bouhéreau senior died 23rd June, 1653. See Appendix, p. 152.

The Bouhéreaus were a prominent family among the Protestants of La Rochelle. The name of Bouhéreau's great-grandfather, Pierre, occurs in the first list of anciens of the Consistory in 1561. They do not, however, seem to have been very numerous—at least in the male line; for not one of the many cousins whose letters have come down to us bears the name. The name itself was properly pronounced Boireau; and it is so written on many of the letter-addresses from intimate friends. Uneducated people write it Boureau, Bourot, Bourot, Boueros. The form Boireau is actually printed in the dedication by Tanneguy Le Fèvre of La Vie d'Aristippe, Paris, 1668. In the shelf-catalogue, which may have been written in the lifetime of Bouhéreau, the following note is found below the entry of this book:—

"Cui hic Liber inscribitur, Boireau, ejus nomen melius scribitur Bouhéreau'; quamquam eadem est pronunciatio. Illum alias Tan. Faber vocat Borellum, qui melius dicitur Boherellus; Elias nempe, Eliae fil: Eliae nep: Petri Pronep." The allusion is to the Ad Eliam Borellum Praefatio of Le Fèvre's Prima Scaligerana, 1669. The copy of this latter work which is now in Marsh's Library (R 1. 5. 72) was a gift to Bouhéreau from Isaac Desbordes, printer and publisher at Saumur; the former was a presentation copy from the author.

Bouhéreau's mother was Blandine Richard. She was a very devoted parent; and, while her son was away from home, wrote to him every week, never missed a post, and seized every extra opportunity to send a little note. It is a pity that she spelt her language phonetically. This habit, and a crowded though bold handwriting, make her letters difficult to decipher. As was the custom then for widows, she always signs her maiden name, Blandine Richard. She had two brothers—merchants, I fancy—who lived at St. Martin, in the Island of Ré, opposite La Rochelle; and Bouhéreau corresponded with four cousins of the same name, one of whom, Élie Richard, was on terms of special intimacy with him, and subsequently joined him in partnership in the practice of medicine. The letters of this Élie Richard, written while studying medicine at Groningen, Amsterdam, Leyden, and Paris, give the impression of a pleasant, straightforward, manly, and intelligent person. His sister Marie married a M. Journeau in the spring of 1663. It may

The second syllable is also accented on the title-page, and at the foot of the Epistle dedicatory of Bonharau's Origen, and in his signature to his Statement, 1702; but in writing the name, the second was usually omitted, in accordance with the careless fashion of the time.

here be noted that the handwriting of Bouhéreau's coevals is quite modern in style and easy to read; the men of the older generation formed their letters in quite a different fashion, and one extremely baffling to unaccustomed eyes.

Élie Bouhéreau was sent to the most important of the Protestant academies of France—that of Saumur (founded by Duplessis-Mornay in 1599, suppressed, 1685, but according to R. Lane Poole, Jan. 8, 1684). Weiss (Hist. French Prot. Refugees, trans., p. 37) enumerates the following eminent persons produced by this seat of learning:—Amyraut, Saint-Maurice, Desmarets, Tanneguy Le Fèvre, to whom should be added the names of Louis Cappel and Caméron. Three of these scholars presided over the education of the young Bouhéreau. The inscription in the prize book won by him in 1656 is in the handwriting of Cappel, who signs himself as Rectore... S. Theol. et linguae Hebeae Professore; and beneath are the signatures: Mose Amyraldo, Gymnasiarchá; Beaujardino, pastore; Tanaquillo Fabro, ii class. praeceptore.

Cappel was "the first to overthrow the authority of the Hebrew vowel-points, and of the Massoretic text of the Old Testament"; and he may be justly called "the founder of modern Biblical criticism." Moïse Amyraut, or Amyraud, was a voluminous writer, as Bouhéreau's library testifies, on the Roman and Calvinistic controversies. Reginald Lane Poole, to whose History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion I am indebted for most of what is here noted about Saumur, states that this Academy influenced those of Sedan and Montauban in the direction of Arminian or Remonstrant views of the doctrine of grace, and in liberalism generally. Amyraut died, as I gather from references in Bouhéreau's correspondence, at 1 p.m., 18th January, 1664, and was buried next day at 5 o'clock, in obedience to an order of 1662, which forbade Protestants to bury their dead, save at day-break or night-fall (Weiss, op. cit., p. 51).

Le Fèvre, or Faber, as the name is Latinised, was a brilliant classical scholar, and father of the celebrated Madame Dacier, who inherited his tastes and genius. He died in 1672. The letters in the collection signed Le Fèvre are from some relative. There are among Bouhéreau's books some nine or ten that once belonged to Le Fèvre. He seems to have sold them in Nov., 1662. He received his congé from the Academy about 1670. There are in these letters hints at various irregularities in his conduct, both private and academical.

Beaujardin, whose name is also on the fly-leaf of Bouhéreau's prize, was

^{. 1676,} the Protestants at Marans were threatened with a lawsuit for burying one paset, at 4 p.m.

not one of the college staff. He was the pastor of the congregation of the Reformed at Saumur; and, according to Delaizement, he abjured his faith under pressure in later years. Bouhéreau lived with him while attending classes at the Academy.

The young Bouhéreau was a diligent student. We have proof of this in seven carefully written volumes of notes of lectures written out at Saumur in 1657, 1658, and 1659. The first of these are the lectures of a person named Doull on rhetoric and the use of the globes; the remaining six are on philosophy and logic, the lectures of Isaac Hugo. Among Bouhéreau's books are two by Hugo: Summa Brevis Doctrinae Metaphysicae, 1649, and Ethica, 1657, both published at Saumur.

Saumur was not a divinity school, although there candidate pastors received their intellectual equipment. Among the many friendships begun there by Bouhéreau were two with laymen of noble rank, the Marquis Turon de Beyrie and Richier de Cerisy. And the intellectual and literary interests which seem to have been instilled into the young men were certainly by no means those of a seminary, or exclusively religious. De Cerisy writes on February 9, 1666:—"Il n'y a point encore d'Ovide en ma bibliotheque, mais j'espere qu'il y en aura bientost, et que tout galant qu'il est, mes theologiens l'y souffriront aussi bien qu'Horace et Petrone et les Priapées de Scioppii qu'ils y endurent tres patiemment." The same divided allegiance is reflected in the letters of a youth who was Bouhéreau's dearest friend, Paul Bauldry; for example, we read in a letter of November 15, 1662:—"J'ay aujourdhuy prié un homme qui est en Angleterre de chercher le 13 tome des Cent. de Magd. et des exempl. d'un livre intitulé Priapeia Scoppii." Strange company for the highly respectable Madgeburg Centuriators! And these were not by any means vicious or profligate young men. Later on they will become austere enough. Turon de Beyrie rallies Bouhéreau on his puritanical manners, in his letter of October 23, 1674:- "J'ay craint extremement que dans ma derniere lettre il ne me fût échappé quelque chose qui t'eût scandalisé; car je remarque que M^{rr} les Beats, au nombre desquels je prendray la liberté de te mettre, sont extremement sensibles et delicats. Il faut que pour me vanger je te die une chose que j'ay découverte en ta personne depuis que tu fais metier de devotion, c'est que contre le genie de nostre Religion, qui la veut masle et vigoureuse, tu as chargé la tienne de grimaces, et je trouve pitoyable qu'aymant naturellement les plaisirs, tu ayes creu qu'il estoit de la severité d'un Ancien de se priver de la dance et de la musique. Tu vois par la que je me souviens de la maniere dont te firent fuir un soir les hauts-bois quand j'estois a la Rochelle, et je remarquay que cela fist peine a Mademoiselle Boireau, qui contre le genie du temps, feroit scrupule de prendre des plaisirs qu'elle ne peût partager avec son mary."

In 1674 Bouhéreau had been married five or six years, was a leading citizen of his native town, and a church-elder. But when Turon first knew him, he was estudiant or proposant on théologie, a divinity student, composing des vers galants, ordering l'Histoire Amoureuse from Paris, and sending copies of the Basia of Johannes Secundus to his friends, his serious thoughts spent on emendations in Catullus, Virgil, etc., and minute and profitless points of New Testament criticism and exegesis; like Pope's Narcissa:

"A very heathen in the carnal part, Yet still a sad, good Christian at his heart."

By far the largest number of letters extant from any one correspondent are those of Paul Bauldry, who left Saumur Academy about a month after Bouhéreau. The first letter is dated 22nd and 23rd July, 1662; and on the top of it Bouhéreau has written Je suis party de Saumur le 16⁻ de Juillet, Dimanche. With scarcely an exception, these letters, and those of other very intimate friends, are unsigned, and have no formula of address at the beginning. It has been a task of some difficulty to discover the names of the writers in many cases. In this instance it was not until I had read the fifteenth that I found a hint of the writer's name in some Latin hendecasyllable verses beginning:—

"Male est, o Boherelle, Baldrio: mi Male est mehercule et laboriose."

The verses are followed by this comment:—" Vous voyes bien par ceste epigr. plus Catullienne que bauldrienne, que vous me faites tres grand plaisir de m'ecrire de longues lettres."

The writer's name then, Latinised, would be Bauldrius. No. 32 is signed P. B.; no. 37, Baul; and finally, no. 43 concludes thus:—aimés toujours bien le petit Paul Bauldry. He is spoken of as Baudry by other correspondents.

Bouhéreau himself was not a tall man. In Bauldry's letter of November 15, 1662, the writer's feelings, as was often the case, find expression in verse:—

"Quelle ait pour vous de la douceur Et toujours quelque faveur A l'egal de vostre merite. C'est a dire non petite, Quoyque vous soyés petit."

De Cerisy, too, makes jesting reference to his friend's appearance. He

tells him (letter of 19th June, 1664) that he and Bouhéreau's amante of Paris were laughing du petit homme a mine noire. Compare the following from an anonymous correspondent, who writes from Paris, 10 Juillet, 1664:— "En verité, Monsieur, je trouve que vouz aves la meillure memoire du monde, et que pour n'estre paz des pluz grands de corps, vostre ame contient beaucoup de chosez."

The Bauldry correspondence, as it lies before me, is an illustration of the cooling of a hot friendship. Bouhéreau has carefully numbered the first forty-seven letters, concluding with that of 30th November, 1663. There are two others, not numbered, of that year; only twelve of the year 1664 (during part of this year they had been together in Paris); twenty-five of the year 1665; three between that year and the close of 1668; one each for 1669 and 1670; five for 1672; four for 1680; and one for 1683. Our own experience, however, ought to make us hesitate to assume that the depth of our attachment to our friends can be safely gauged by the frequency and length of our letters to them.

When Élie Bouhéreau left College, he went home to his mother, who had a house at La Rochelle, en (or d) la ville neuve, prés (or proche) la nouvelle porte de Maubec (or proche le temple). He then continued his studies as a proposant or estudiant en théologie. For at least a year some of his friends so addressed his letters. I find it last in April, 1665. Sometimes we find only the abbreviation E. E. T. This mark of distinction was not always acceptable. At least Bauldry, who never so addressed his friend, writes on 28th January, 1663:—"Mon pere se fasche de voir sur vos lettres proposant ou estudiant en theolog. Contentés le bon homme si vous pouvés, qui est chagrin épouvantablement, ce qui me desespere."

Bauldry's father, who lived at Rouen, à la rue de la grosse orloge, may have deemed it imprudent in those troublous times to have unnecessary publicity given to his adherence to La Religion Prétendue Réformée, as it was officially styled.

It appears to have been the custom for the young divinity students to deliver a trial sermon, called une proposition, in the places in which they sought to exercise their ministry. Bauldry thus describes his first effort of this kind, 28th May, 1663:—"Je rendis hier ma proposition avec tout le succés que j'en puisse raisonablement esperer, graces a Dieu. Ce qui n'est pas une petite affaire dans nostre eglise, ou les gens passent pour des je ne scay qui quand ils hesitent ou qu'ils demeurent. Mais enfin je ne hesitay

¹ There is a picture of this "temple," which was demolished March, 1685, in Delaisement's E²-des Reformez, p. 254.

² Bauldry moved later, 1669, à la rue des charettes, pres le pont Aritaine.

point et je ne demeuray point. Il ne faut pas mentir avec tout cela, je croyois bien faire l'un et l'autre avant que de monter en chaire. Car quand je me sondois ou sur ma priere ou sur mon exorde ou sur ma conclusion je me trouvois foible par tout: mais enfin encor un coup je m'en tiray bel et bien, et c'est dont je remercie Dieu de tout mon œur."

Everyone was not so fortunate. De Cerisy, writing on February 9th, 1666, relates as a piece of gossip the failure of their common friend, Bernon, at La Rochelle, and his being jilted in consequence by a damsel whose love would not endure transplanting.

Bouhéreau got as far as writing a proposition; for in the same letter Bauldry says:—"Envoyés moy donc vostre proposition le plustost que vous pourrés"; and in a letter of June 19th of the same year (1663):—"J'ay leu vostre proposition, mais je ne vous en parleray point jusqu'a Samedy que je vous la renvoyeray avec la mienne." Unfortunately this undertaking was not fulfilled, at least at that time. Bauldry was compelled to leave Rouen in hot haste "pour eviter une tutelle et une curatelle dont j'estois menacé."

It is interesting to learn, as we have now done for the first time, that Bouhéreau, in taking orders in Ireland many years after, was fulfilling the intentions of his youth.

In December, 1663, Bouhéreau went on a long visit to Paris, where he stayed with an uncle, Guibert, sometimes described as avocat en Parlement, who lived dans la rue de la Buscherie proche la place Maubert. At the end of that year he finally determined to cease his preparation for the ministry. He left Paris about June 10th, 1664, returning home via Saumur, where he spent a few days in the house of Le Fèvre, à la billange. All that the letters reveal as to Bouhéreau's doings in Paris refer to a love-affair with a Mademoiselle de Beauchamp, a cousin. This young lady married somebody else in September of the same year. One of the letters, the writer of which I have not been able to identify, gives a description of the wedding and a very unflattering account of the bridegroom's personal appearance and position in society:—

"Le 4 Sept., 1664.

"Quelle estoit belle! Si vous y eussiés esté! non pourtant, je ne le dois pas souhaitter. Je vouz ayme trop, vouz l'aymiés trop, vous en seriés mort de regret. Dimanche dernier je l'ay veüe marier: et je n'ay rien veu marier de si beau. Que d'ieux elle fixa sur elle mesme! Que de victimes elle deroba a Dieu! Que je vis d'attraits! Que je vis de graces! Je ne peus m'empescher de dire en moy mesme que les poëtes avoyent menti de ne parler que de trois, car j'en vis une infinité. Quel dommage qu'elle soit entre les bras d'un homme si malfait que l'époux qu'on

luy a donné! car de mine, il l'a tres mauvaise, et d'esprit, on m'a dit qu'il n'en avoit que pour faire la reverence et pour dire, je suis vostre serviteur. Mais ce qui a encore bien faict causer le monde c'est qu'il n'avoit qui que ce soit pour l'accompaigner que le frere de la mariée. On a creu que c'estoit une marque qu'il estoit descendu de fort bas lieu, et ce qui a confirmé ce soupçon, c'est qu'on a sceu que son maistre, car il est commis, aux aides que je pense, n'avoit paz daigné honorer la mariée d'une seule visite, contre la pratique ordinaire. Quelques unz ont aussi trouvé estrange que la mariée n'eust aucune suitte, et encore pluz de ce que quand on passa le contract il n'y eut aucune apparence de nopces, pas seulement un verre Ce que j'en dis, ce n'est pas que je m'en scandalise, je ne suis pas encore si infirme, mais c'est que le monde parle ainsi. J'ay creu que vous preniés assés de part en cette affaire pour que je vous en informasse. J'ay peur mesme que vous n'en preniés que trop pour vostre repos, car quand on a beu a la santé d'une fille dans la calotte de sa perruque, je pense qu'on doit avoir grand regret de la voir possedée par une autre."

Haag states—I do not know on what authority—that Bouhéreau took the degree of M.D. at the University of Orange on August 29th, 1667. The earliest reference I have found in the correspondence to the doctorate is on a letter dated 20th July, 1667, from Montpellier, Monsieur B. docteur en Medecine à Rome; and on a letter of December 15th, 1667, on the address of which Massiot—a future father-in-law or brother-in-law—addresses him as Docteur en Medecine de present. Agnew, following Haag, adds: "After taking his degree, he travelled in Italy with his cousin, Elie Richard Bouhéreau." Apart from the mistaken addition of Bouhéreau to the cousin's name, there seems to be an error here; for unless we suppose that the degree was conferred in absentia, the cousins were in Italy in August, 1667. We have among the letters of that year one from Bassiou, of Montpellier, dated June 21, and another from Journeau, a relative, dated August 15th, and yet another from Les Frères Garbusay-bankers apparently-of Lyons, dated September 1st, all addressed to Bouhéreau at Rome.1 disparagement to Bouhéreau to say that the degree must have been rather easily acquired-at least in some cases. There was no school of medicine at La Rochelle; and with the exception of the six months' stay at Paris in 1664, and again in 1667, there is no evidence that Bouhéreau left his home for more than a few days, until he went on his Italian tour, nor is there any allusion in the correspondence to any studies in medicine or kindred

¹The notice by M. Delayant, printed in the Appendix, p. 152, gives the date of Bouhéreau's declarate as March 29, 1667. This fits in with the facts as presented in the correspondence.

subjects. On the contrary, there is a passage in one of Turon's letters (19th February, 1677) which would lead us to suppose that Bouhéreau's serious study of medicine did not commence for some years after he had taken his degree in it:—

"Je me reiouiray extremement de ce que tu vas embrasser tout de bon la medecine, si j'estois persuadé que le merite y trouvast toûiours la recompense qui luy seroit deüe. En ce cas-la je ne serois pas en peine pour toy, et je suis persuadé que tu t'y distinguerois bien tost. Mais en verité l'experience que j'ay dans le monde m'a fait connoître que la charlatanerie et l'impudence d'un ignorant n'y manquent guere de triompher, de l'esprit et du sçavoir d'un homme modeste. C'est un patelinage perpetuel entre medecin, apothicaire, et chirurgien. Tout s'y fait par compere, et par commere, on ne voit que cabaler pour établir ou decrediter, et comme pour la pluspart les gens a qui l'on a afaire, sont fort ignorants et de peu d'esprit, un fripon artificieux l'emporte ordinairement sur un honneste homme sincere; ce qui ne se peut voir sans chagrin, de quelque philosophie qu'on se puisse munir. Mais je suis bien ridicule de t'aller icy dire des choses que tu scais mieux que moy, et je ne pretends pas combattre le dessein que tu as pris."

The poor Marquis must be pardoned this cynical ebullition. He had a very distressing complaint to make him irritable. The point, however, that is material for our present purposes is that this extract is good evidence that at this time, 1677, Bouhéreau was only beginning to practise his profession seriously. His medical education was certainly very different from that of his cousin Élie Richard, who, after a stay at Saumur—I do not know how long—engaged in special medical and natural philosophy studies at Groningen and Paris.

But we are anticipating. The two cousins in their travels visited Venice, and made some considerable stay in Rome. They were also at Strassburg, and returned to Paris about November, 1667. In Le Fèvre's Epistre a Monsieur Boireau, dated 23rd November, 1667, which he prefixed to his Vie d'Aristippe, he says:—"Je viens d'apprendre chez l'illustre Monsieur Conrart, que vous êtes de retour de Rome depuis trois jours."

Bouhéreau remained in Paris at least until the close of January, 1668, ches Monsieur Barbot, Advocat au conseil, Rue de la Harpe. From a memorandum, partly in his mother's writing, partly in his own, we learn that the total expenses of the tour, including those of his stay at Paris, amounted to 3,955 livres.

In September of this year, 1668, we hear of Bouhéreau's approaching marriage. The writer of the letter referred to, La Fons Thomeilles, speaks as

if it were to take place immediately; but later letters (Gaussen, October 5th, '68; Bauldry, November, '68) refer to it as still future. It probably took place early in 1669. (See Tessereau, February 14th, '69; Bascoux, February 2nd; Cerisy, April 2nd.) The lady on whom his choice fell was Marguerite Massiot, a cousin. They had a large family. Agnew (ii., p. 140) gives the list of them from the Naturalizations, dated 15th of April, 1687: Elias, Richard, Amator, John, Margaret, Claudius, and Magdalen. In addition to these, there were at least two others who died before Bouhéreau left France; and another daughter, Blanche or Blandine, is mentioned in his will.

When Bouhéreau married, he left the old house, and went to live in the Rue des Augustins, where he remained at least until July 9th, 1685, with occasional absences at the Synods of his Church, of which he soon became uncien. The letters which have fallen into my hands give the impression that he had sufficient private means to enable him to lead a life of study. We have seen already that he did not seriously begin to practise his profession of physician until 1677.

As early as 1669 (see Turon's letter of July 5th), Valentine Conrart, the first Secretary of the Académie de France, endeavoured to direct Bouhéreau's studies into a definite channel. But the first express mention of the task assigned him—a translation of the Treatise of Origen against Celsus—is not found until 1672. At Conrart's death in 1675 the work was still unfinished; and indeed, when Bouhéreau submitted the manuscript to Spanheim in 1685, all the books of Origen's treatise had not been translated. It was eventually printed at Amsterdam, with an Epistle dedicatory to Henry de Massue de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, dated à Dublin le 1 Janvier 1700. (The copy in Marsh's Library, R 2. 4. 47, is that with last press-corrections.) Westcott, in his article on Origen in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, says Bouhéreau "shewed great skill, with too much boldness, in dealing with the text," and quotes Mosheim's admiration of Bouhéreau's ingenuity in emendation.¹

It is quite possible that the persecution of Huguenots, which was yearly, indeed monthly, growing more intense, as well as his increasing family, compelled him to earn an income. As the troubles thickened, we have evidence that he began to contemplate the necessity of leaving La Rochelle. As early as March, 1683, a relative, Massiot, in Paris, discusses Bouhéreau's prospects of success if he were to set up as a physician in the capital. We have

¹ Haag also mentions "une lettre de lui sur un passage difficile de Justin inserée dans le T. ii. de la Bible ancienne et moderne," 1714; and a Lettre à Mademoiselle D. B. sur le choix d'un médecin, 1674.

significant memoranda of questions to enquire concerning North America. In 1685, Chouet discusses the advantages and disadvantages of Geneva as a harbour of refuge. In 1683 the Huguenot physicians of La Rochelle were forbidden to practise their profession; and it is possibly in connexion with this that we find a formal offer made by the Academy of Saumur. through Barin the President, of Chairs of Philosophy to Dr. E. Bouhéreau and his cousin Elie Richard. This was in May, 1684. It was a case of one drowning man endeavouring to save another. The days of the Academy were numbered. Bouhéreau had demonstrated his loyalty to his Alma Mater by sending his eldest son there in spite of the remonstrances of his friend Turon.' The father treasured later among his own books a French New Testament (classed in Marsh, R 2. 6. 19) on the fly-leaf of which is written, Elie Bouhereau a remporté ce second prix de pieté dans la premiere classe le 7eme 7bre 1684 a Saumur. The cover is stamped on the front, "Avitae memoriae et Christianae amicitiae sacrum," and on the back, "Elie Bouhereau de la Rochelle anno 1684."

There is a brief summary of Bouhéreau's history in 1685, in Delaizement's Hist. des Reformez, pp. 264, 265.

"Le sieur Bouhereau qui avoit été envoyé [par lettre de cachet, Haag] à Poitiers, aprés y avoir demeuré quelque tems, obtint de la Cour, qu'il auroit Paris pour le lieu de sa relegation. Il y vint au mois d'Août et y demeura jusques à ce que les maux des Reformés allant être au comble, il lui fut enjoint d'aller aus extremités du Languedoc et d'y demeurer jusqu'à nouvel ordre. Il partit de Paris pour obeïr; mais ayant trouvé moyen de se détourner pour aller tirer sa femme et une partie de ses enfans, du peril où il savoit qu'ils étoient à la Rochelle, il passa avec eux en Angleterre." This story differs in some details from Haag's account, followed by Agnew (op. cit., vol. ii., p. 140). Haag implies that Bouhéreau was some months in Paris before he left ostensibly for Languedoc. We have, however, letters addressed to him at La Rochelle as late as July 9th, 1685. Agnew also states that he brought all his children with him to England. Seven are enumerated in the Naturalizations list of April 15th, 1687; but Delaizement's words imply that, when Bouhéreau left La Rochelle, some only of his children accompanied him. The story as told by himself to his granddaughter, Jane Quartier, solves this difficulty, and also explains how he saved his library. Her other reminiscences will be found in the Appendix, p. 150; but this is the place for her narrative of his escape from France:

"When the storm threaten'd them, my Grandfather who was at

^{1 &}quot;Je ne sçay comment tu t'es resolu d'aller mener ton fils a Saumur dans cette grande decadence de l'Academie, et j ay peur que tu ne t'en trouves mal."—Letter of 12th May, 1684.

that time a Lawyer & expected to be soon call'd into the Parliament was intrusted with the original edict of Nants & all the satutes [sic] of the Church, as may be sill [sic] seen in the publick Library of St. Patrick's. when the persecution began to blaze he reca a letter of cachette which banish'd him to another town, there he found another to go further, however he made his escape went to the English Ambassader at Paris told who he was (his name was known tho his Person was not, by his famous translation of Origene against Celstes [sic] & beg'd of his Excellency to permit him to give him a rect as if he had bought his library & got them sent to England, which that Nobleman did, by which means he sav'd a most curious collection of manuscripts & other books, which would have been burn'd by the common hangman as heretical, as soon as he was gone a troop of Dragoons was quarter'd on his House, to force my Grandmother to change her Religion & take his children, but she had them all out to different friends, with orders to send them to a house on the quay (where all the Protestants that coud make their escape us'd to meet) with a promise that she would make hers & meet them there, which accordingly she did, for one of the fellows asking her money to buy a hat, she said she coud buy it cheaper than he & it would make the money go further & get them more things as they might want them. he consented & went with her, it was night, & her maid (tho a woman) was very faithfull, promis'd to do what lay in her power to help her. my Grandmother made her carry a lanthorn, & bid her when she came to such a house to pretend her foot had slip'd & let her self fall & put out the candle, which she did, & making a great outcry, pretended she had sprain'd her ancle, in the meantime my Grandmother got into the house, which was left open on purpose, & by the back door got to the quay, where her children were before her, all but the youngest that was at nurse being but six months old, but ye woman promis'd that on shewing her the copy of a letter my Grandfather had given her she woud deliver the child. the first person my Grandmother found going into ye house was my Grandfather whom she thought was some hundreds of leagues off, she had much adoe to keep herself from shreiking, but contain'd herself, on accent of the danger they ran if they had been discover'd, ye same night they got on board a ship yt waited for them & a great number of others yt had made their escape as well as they. two years after my Grandfather ventur'd his life, to bring his youngest son out of France, for had he been caught he would have been hang'd, as he had been hang'd in effigie for having made his escape, but y' nurse was true to him & did not inform against him."

The first notice of him by Englishmen is in Anthony Wood's Fasti Oxonienses:—

"1687. In a Convocation held 15th Dec. were Letters read from the Chanc. of the University in behalf of one Elias Boherel (born at Rockelle, partly bred under his Father an eminent Physician, and two Years or more in the University of Saumur) to be created Batchelor of the Civil Law, but whether he was created or admitted, it appears not. He and his Father were French Protestants, and were lately come into England, to enjoy the Liberty of their Religion, which they could not do in France, because of their Expulsion thence by the King of that Country."

In alluding to this quotation from Wood, Agnew falls into the error of supposing that the Elias Boherel referred to is Dr. Bouhéreau himself. It really is his eldest son, who was killed in a battle in Flanders, according to Jane Quartier.

Dr. Bouhéreau informs us that he arrived in England in the beginning of the year 1686. On the accession of William III, he immediately obtained government employment as secretary, first to Thomas Cox, Envoy to the Swiss Cantons, and subsequently in Piedmont to Henri de Massue de Ruvigny, Deputy-general of the Huguenots, and subsequently Earl of Galway. (Statements of French Pensioners, 1703, and Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1689, August 20th and September; and 1708-9, January 22nd.) Massue de Ruvigny had been appointed in November, 1693, Commander-in-chief of the English auxiliary forces in Piedmont, and returned thence in January, 1697. (See Dict. Nat. Biog.) It would seem that Bouhéreau accompanied him home; for he acted as Secretary to Lord Galway while the latter was Lord Justice of Ireland, 1697-1701. He is so described in the Portarlington Register, 11th July, 1700: Monsieur Bouhereau, secretaire de son Excellence Milord Conte de Galluuai lun des Lords Justice d'Irlande.

It was at this time apparently that Bouhéreau came under the notice of Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin. This learned, wise, and munificent prelate was then agitating for the realisation of a project on which he had set his heart, i.e. the establishment of a public library in Dublin. It is unnecessary here to say more about Marsh's Library, the origin and nature of which have been already related by the last and the present Library-keepers. (See G. T. Stokes, Some Worthies of the Irish Church, p. 112; Library Association Record, March, 1899.) It is sufficient to say that Archbishop Marsh's notion was that Bouhéreau should be appointed librarian on a salary of £200 per annum until such time as one of the dignities of St. Patrick's Cathedral should become vacant, when Bouhéreau should succeed to it. See Appendix, p. 147.

¹ In the Public Record Office, Dublin.

The Archbishop's importunity was rewarded by the issue of a Royal Warrant, 11th June, 1701, embodying his proposals; and Bouhéreau was now Public Librarian in Ireland, in custody of his own books, to which those of Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, were added in 1704. Besides his own statement as to his official position, made in 1702, the entry of his daughter Marguerite's marriage, 21st July, 1703, describes him as ministre et bibliotécaire de Monsieur le Primat d'Irlande. Does this mean that he was also private chaplain to the Archbishop? This construction of the sentence is supported by an odd expression in his own statement: estant dans les ordres sacres aupres de Mylord archevesque De Dublin. But there is no record of his ordination in the diocesan registers of Dublin.

Marsh was translated from Dublin to Armagh in 1702; and it is almost certain that before he left Dublin a portion of the library—which was built on ground taken from the Archbishop of Dublin's garden—must have been erected. The wood-work of the first gallery, which runs north and south, and looks into the Cathedral grounds, is superior in quality to that of the second or inner gallery, which runs at right angles to it, east and west. Moreover, the arrangement of Bouhéreau's own books in the reading-room, which is at the corner where the two main galleries meet, proves that they were classed and tabulated before the second gallery was built; for while the largest portion of the books classed R 3 is on the north side of the door-way connecting the reading-room and gallery no. 2, there are a few on the south side; and a perpendicular slip of wood fastened on the outside of the case indicates where R4 begins. Similarly some of the books of R5 are on the east side of the door leading into gallery no. 1, and others are on the north of the adjoining window. It is evident that before gallery no: 2 was built, and the door-way into it constructed, R3 and R4 divided the east wall of the reading-room between them, and that R 5 occupied the whole space east of the door-way leading into gallery no. 1.

Of Bouhéreau's performance of the duties of library-keeper it is impossible now to speak with exactness. He had lived his life, and a useful, honoured life too, before he was appointed Public Librarian. Men do not usually begin to learn a new business, however apparently easy, at the age of sixty-five—least of all when they are exiles, and all that they had lived for—causes and persons—crushed or buried. A letter from Archbishop King, quoted by Sir Charles Simeon King (A Great Archbishop of Dublin, p. 261), proves that the manuscript catalogue of the books in Marsh's Library, which has been praised by all who have consulted it, was the work of Bouhéreau's successor, Robert Dougatt. There is extant a list of books in Bouhéreau's handwriting; but it is quite useless as a catalogue. Archbishop King, in the same letter, states that

Dougatt found the library "in a miserable condition," and that it "had cost him out of his own pockett, between 3 and 4 hundred pounds." This can only mean that Primate Marsh had not done all that he had originally intended to do for the fabric. It is quite impossible to suppose that any neglect could so impair a building no part of which was more than seventeen years old.

Cotton states (Fasti, vol. ii, p. 112) that Bouhéreau "was minister of the French Church, in Dublin." This is not true. Mr. T. P. Le Fanu, in reply to my enquiries, states: "I can say with confidence that Elie Bouhéreau was not a minister of either of the French Churches in Dublin. He took part, however, occasionally in the affairs of the Conformed Church as a member of the congregation." See his sentiments on the subject of conformity in his will (p. 149). On another point, too, Cotton has, I think, made an error: that is, in giving Bouhéreau the title D.D. It is true that the entry of his burial in the Registers above mentioned describes him as doctour en theologie. But there is no record of his having obtained the degree at Oxford or Cambridge or Dublin. It is most likely that his D.D. was a loose inference from his being a M.D., a clergyman, and a theologian more learned by far than most of those who have "performed the exercises" necessary for the degree. To the ear, all "Reverend Doctors" are of equal standing. Yet although Bouhéreau was not actually a minister of the French Conformed congregation assembling for worship in the Lady Chapel of St. Patrick's, he must, as was natural from his past history, have been regarded as one of the important officials; for he obtained the right of burial within its walls—a privilege reserved for "the Ministers and other Church officers" according to the condition agreed to by the Dean and Chapter in their Capitular grant, 23rd December, 1665 (see La Touche, op. cit., Introd.). In his will he says: "I...desire... that, if it can conveniently be done, my Body may be deposited in the same place of the French Chappel, within the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Dublin, where the Bodies of my Mother, my Wife, my eldest daughter, and others of the Family, have formerly being [sic] deposited."

There is no reason to think that this natural desire was not complied with. The entry relating to his burial runs thus:—

"Le 7 May, 1719, a esté enterré par Mr. Fleury, le corps de feu Mr. Bouheraud, chantre de St. Patrick, docteur en theologie. Il etoit fameux medecin et zèle Protestant de La Rochelle, tres scavan et estimé."

It is pleasant to think that the bodies of the devoted mother and the faithful son rest together in the quiet and beautiful chapel. The above extract from the will throws light on an imperfect entry in the French Registers:—

1700. Aujourdhuy 9e Avril a esté enterré par Mr Barbier, l'un

de nos ministres, le corps de feu Dame; auquel enterrement ont assisté M^{rs} Bouhereau, pere et fils, et M. Jourdan, ministre, qui ont dit que la dite Dame estoit aagée lors de son deceds de 95 ou environ."

It is evident that the missing name is Blandine Richard Bouhéreau. The officiating minister probably knew her only as Dr. Bouhéreau's mother, and intended to ask the exact name the next time he met him. These registers afford many examples of similar lacuna, which can only be ascribed to this habit of putting off till to-morrow.

Madame Marguerite Massiot (Maciot, Matiot) Bouhéreau was buried 23rd May, 1704, when it was stated that she was about sixty years old at the time of her death. The eldest daughter Marguerite was buried 23rd April, 1707. She was then about thirty-four years of age. She had been married, 21st July, 1703, to Louis Quartier (later Cartier), "ministre de l'église françoise de St. Patrick à Dublin." They had at least three daughters, one of whom, Jane, survived her parents, and received one-fifth of her grandfather's property. She married Jean Freboul, July 12th, 1730. Her account of her family will be found in the Appendix, p. 150. Her father, Louis Quartier, was buried 23rd October, 1715.

Of Élie Bouhéreau's "numerous family" only four survived him:-

(1) Richard. This son bore the additional surname of Des Herbiers. An account of his career can be seen in *The Statements of French Pensioners*, 1702, 1713 (the latter in his father's handwriting). He served all through King William's wars, and lost his left arm at the siege of Ebernburg.

Agnew (op. cit., vol. ii., p. 308) states that one of Bouhéreau's sons became Mayor of Dublin, and had a son Richard who changed his name to Borough; that he had two sons: Lieut.-Col. William Blakenay Borough and Sir Richard Borough (1756-1837; Bart., 11th November, 1813). Sir Richard married, in 1799, Anna Maria, daughter of Gerard, Viscount Lake, and had a son, Sir Edward Richard Borough, born 1800, and married to Lady Elizabeth St. Lawrence. Their two sons, Edward and William, died respectively in 1855 and 1856. They had five daughters. Now, there was no Mayor of Dublin named Borough in the eighteenth century. But Smiles (op. cit.) and Burke's Peerage agree in describing the office as that of "town-major." This agrees with the recollections of Jane Quartier, p. 151.

(2) Amateur appears in a baptismal entry of September, 1738, as Monsieur le Major Amateur (Borhou)¹ Bouhéreau. He is probably the same as Arteur Borough, mentioned as a parrain, 22nd April, 1733. The names

^{1 &}quot;Borhou" is interpolated in a later hand.

Amateur and Arteur are interchanged in the name of the child, who was in fact, Amateur Bouhéreau's grandnephew.

- (3) John Boircou, or Bouhéreau, entered Trinity College, Dublin; was Scholar, 1704; B.A., 1705; M.A., 1708. He was ordained, 19th March, 1709, and took the degree of D.D. in the spring of the same year. He was the first assistant librarian of Marsh's Library, and held the post till 1725. The will of a John Borough, of Ringsend, was proved in June, 1726. This may be the same person. If it be, he left a wife and one daughter, both named Mary.
- (4) Blandine, or Blanche, married John Jourdain, or Jourdan, who held the living of Dunshaughlin, Meath. She had a "numerous family," in consideration of which her father left her three-tenths of his property.

APPENDIX A.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CALENDARS OF TREASURY PAPERS.

Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1697-1701-2.

Vol. lxii., 41. June 26, 1699.

Letter of Mr. Blathwayt to Mr. Lowndes.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had communicated a letter of the Bishop of Dublin and Bishop of Clogher, relating to a library keeper at Dublin, to the King, who referred the part relating to an allowance of 200l. a year to the said library keeper, out of the first fruits and twentieth parts of that kingdom, to the Lords of the Treasury. Dated Loo, 6 July 1699. N.S. [i.e., 26th June].

Minuted:—"To have 200ⁿ a yeare from Midsm^r during pleasure, provided that if the treasurership or chancellorship of the cathedrall church of St. Patrick becomes voyd, this pension to cease."

Vol. lxxiv. 7. May 6th, 1701.

A letter from Narcissus, Archbishop of Dublin [to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland].

He knew not whether Lord Galway had acquainted his Excellency with a design of erecting a library at Dublin for public use, which would be of great benefit, seeing the only library in Ireland (which was that of the

¹ So spelt in the printed list of Dublin Graduates.

College in Dublin) was inaccessible to all but the members, and that the booksellers' shops were furnished with none but a few modern English books, so that the clergy of that city and such as came to it about business, and especially the poor curates who had no money to buy, having no place to repair to where they might have the perusal of a collection of good books, he feared spent much of their time worse, than probably they would do, if such a provision were made for them. When he spoke of the College library as the only one in Ireland, he meant that was anything considerable, there being two others very small, one at Kilkenny, given by the late Bishop there, and another at Londonderry, erected by the present Bishop of that place.

The money for the structure was ready and the ground laid out, being part of the garden belonging to his (the Bishop's) house, and the model of the building was being drawn. Only one encouragement was wanting. There was a very learned gentleman, a refugee, one Mr. Bonhereau [sic], who held great correspondence in foreign parts, every way qualified to be a library keeper. He had moreover a collection of books worth between 500l. and 6001. This gentleman, being ancient, would give his books (which were in a manner all his substance) to this library (when erected) and become library keeper himself, if he might have 200l. a year settled on him for life. Were the treasurership or chancellorship of their Cathedral of St. Patrick void, he (the Bishop) would bestow it on him who was well qualified for such a dignity and would endeavour to make it a preferment for a library keeper for ever, there being no duty belonging thereto besides preaching three or four times in a year. But it being uncertain when either of these might become void, the only expedient that could be thought of was, that the King would graciously bestow a salary of 200l. per ann. on Mr. Bonhereau [sic] as library keeper, either during life or until otherwise provided for, which might be paid out of the first fruits, and then the work would go on. The library would at first opening be pretty well stocked with those books and such others as he (the Bishop) should then give (the remainder of his library, all but his Oriental Manuscripts, being designed for it when he died); but if this could not be obtained, he feared the whole project would languish and come to nought. He was somewhat bold with his Excellency; but his concern was for the public good. Lord Galway was fully apprised of the matter, and the Archbishop of Canterbury had formerly been acquainted with it, and he (the Bishop) had again written to him.

Minuted :- "To be laid before the K."

The Act of Parliament, passed 1707, by which Marsh's Library was incorporated, mentions that the Rev. Mr. Elias Bouhereau had been made

Library-keeper. In March, 1709, he was collated Precentor, or Chanter, as it was then termed, of St. Patrick's Cathedral. His predecessor in that dignity, Samuel Synge, Dean of Kildare, had died on 2nd December, 1708. The delay in Bouhéreau's collation was probably due to some pecuniary difficulty, as it had been arranged that his pension of £200 should cease on his succession to a Cathedral dignity. The following extract from the Calendar of Treasury Papers throws light on the situation:—

Vol. exii. 22. 1708-9, Jan. 22.

The Earl of Gallway to the Lord High Treasurer.

Testifies to the great merit and learning of, and to his particular esteem for Doctor Bouhereau, who had been his secretary in Piedmont, whose case he enclosed. Dated Lisbon, 2 Feb. 1709 N.S., i.e. 22 Jan. Docquetted:—2 Feb. 1708-9.

Accompanied by the "Petition of Doctor Elias Bouhereau, Keeper of the Public Library near St. Sepulchres, Dublin, erected by the Archbishop of Armagh. He was allowed 200l. a year by the beneficence of Her Majesty until the chantership of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick fell vacant by the death of Dean Synge. Was required to pay two third parts of 360 odd pounds expended in buildings to the executors of the Dean. Was a stranger and left France for his religion's sake, and brought over nothing with him but a numerous family and his books, value 500l., which he gave to the library. Prays the continuance of his pension for two years. Was 68 years old."

Minuted :- "Ref. to My Lord Lieutenant."

APPENDIX B.

Extracts from the last Will and Testament of Elias Bouhéreau

Dated 19th March, 1713.

desire that, if it can conveniently be done, my Body may be deposited in the same place of the French Chappel, within the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Dublin, where the Bodies of my Mother, my Wife, my alder the later, and others of the Family, have formerly being [sic]

I allways had of dying within the communion of the

Reformed Churches of France, in which, by the grace of God, I constantly lived, till they were utterly destroy'd, was the reason why, upon my being driven into England, by the same storm which overwhelmed them, I immediately submitted to the Discipline of the Church, as by Law there established; as being fully perswaded that I could never more effectually shew my self a true son of our desolate Churches, than by a steady adherence to the principles which they owned and maintained; and as believing it to be our part and duty to shew at least good example, when we can not any other way contribute towards reclaiming those who stand separated for such reasons, as our Churches did highly disapprove; far from giving the world occasion to believe, by making distinct and separate Assemblies, that we would refuse, in our native country, to be Members of such a Reformed Body, as the Church of England now is. The due and constant practice of this maxime I recommend to those who will have any regard and consideration for my memory.

I earnestly above all entreat my dear Children never to forgett that signall mercy of God, by which they were taken out of a Country, which may be so justly look'd upon as a place of slavery. There are few families, upon whom Providence hath bestowed the same favour, with such remarkable circumstances, as do better deserve to be kept in perpetual remembrance; the chiefest of which I have purposely sett down in another writing. . . .

My will is that ten equal shares may be made of my substance; that my eldest son Richard Bouhereau, and his sister Blanche, alias Blandine, wife to Mr. John Jourdan, may each of them have three of these shares a piece; the one, upon account of his Birth-right, and the loss of his Arm; the other by reason of her numerous family: that my Grand-daughter Jane Quartier may have two shares, which I do assign to her, to make good the promise I made to her dying mother: that my other two sons, Amateur and John, may have one of these shares a piece; not that I love them less than the rest of my Children, but because they are better able to provide for themselves. . . .

Att present I leave to my eldest son's keeping such Papers as concern the affairs of the family: and I bestow upon my youngest all such things as have any relation to sciences, and learning; as my Geographical Maps, and Chronological Tables, what few Medals I have, my common-place Books, such of my Books as he will chuse for himself, and especially those where there is any handwriting of mine in, and all other such like things; upon this condition, that he will deposit in a safe place what he will think deserves to be preserved, after having made use of it.

I bequeath twenty Guineas to the Consistory, or Vestry, of the French Church of S. Patrick, to be distributed, by way of extraordinary allowance, to such families of our poor Refugies, as shall by them be judged to be in the greatest want......

Remember, my dear Children, to keep a strict peace, comcord, and friend-ship, among yourselves. This is the true and onely way, by which you may make God propitious to you; as it is also the chief and last thing, that I recommend to you, and wish you. I shall leave you riches enough, if I leave you such a Treasure, as the favour of God is. What can you possibly want, if you have this? May God then give you Peace among yourselves, and Grace towards him? Amen? Amen?

I declare for Executors of this my last Will my eldest son Richard Bouhereau, and his youngest brother John Bouhereau; as being those of my sons, who are the most settled by me.

APPENDIX C.

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF JANE FREBUCE, Rés QUARTIER.

From a document now in the possession of Mrs. M. Areher, of 4 Elton Park, Sandyeove, Co. Dublin.

I have preserved the original spelling and ponetuation.

were either in the Church or Phisick, my Grandfather & Great Grandfather Quartier were Ministers, my great Grandfather Barbier, which was my Grandimither's name was one also, beyond that they were either Phisycians or Lawrers & had good estates in Saumur. ... When Lewis the 14th came to the Crown, he revoked the Edict his Grandfather had made, my lear Father was at that time at the University, & had just finish'd his studies, & was call'd to the Church of Vendome in the room of his Father, who had been call'd to that of Paris, but the persecution began & all the Churches were thrown down, all the favour that was shewn my poor Grandfather was, that by y means of some friends he had in Paris he got leave to \$\text{\text{\$\genty\$}}\$ and the Kingdom, but could take nothing with him but his wife & som they came to Holland, & my Grandfather was call'd to the Church of Groninguen, where he died in the year 1699, my Father on his coming and had the offer of being chaplain to the Quart of Demmark, but

chose to come to Ireland where he was call'd to be Minister of Patrick's Church, as he had a first Cousin who was [sic] that Church & married to a near relation, after my Grandfather's death he went for his mother & brought her here, & the good old woman liv'd till the year 1712, so much is all I know of my dear father's family. now I come to my mother's, they were of Rochelle, a sea port town who suffer'd a siege till they were almost famish'd, rather than submit to articles yt were against their Religion, my great Grandfather was a Counseller in the Parliament, which is what we call here a Judge, & during y' siege they not only eat rats & mice, but my Grandfather told me they even eat yo harness of their coach, at last they capitulated & kept their priviledges longer than any town in France. [Here follows the paragraph cited on page 140.] thus did my Grandfather with his wife & six children & his mother leave France & a plentifull fortune for the sake of his Religion, & come to a strange country, not knowing if he would get bread to suport his family, at first he settl'd in England & applied himself to study Divinity took orders & travell'd, till being acquainted with Lord Galway he made my Grandfather his secretary, when he was made Genrall of King William's forces in Portugall, when Lord Gallway came over here Lord Justice, with yo Duke of Grafton yo first time, he gave my Grandfather ye place of Publick librarykeeper worth at yt time about two hundred pounds per annum, when he came over y' second time under Queen Anne's reign he rais'd it to four hundred & made his youngest son who was a Clergyman his deputy in y' Library, & gave him y' parish of Rush which is but a sinecure, my three other Uncles were in ye army, ye eldest was kill'd in Flanders, ye second lost his left arm at ye same battle in King William's wars, he got half pay, & afterwards bought ye town Majer's commission of Dublin, ye other died about 26 years agoe in Limerick, Majer in Genrall Olmay's Regt, my Grandfather lived till ye year 1719, when he died he left all his books & manuscripts to y' Library, where they are in a room by themselves & may be seen by any one yt asks for Doctor Borough's books.

The water-mark on this document has the date 1798. It is evidently an original, not a copy; therefore the writer, whose mother died in April, 1707, must have been over ninety years of age when she committed to writing, with great reluctance as she says, what she had learnt from her grandfather and uncles.

APPENDIX D.

NOTICE OF E. BOUHÉREAU BY M. LÉOPOLD DELAYANT.

The following has been kindly communicated to me by M. Meschinet de Richemond, Archiviste Départemental Honoraire, of La Rochelle:—

Extrait de la biographie inédite de ce savant médecin, due à la plume autorisée de feu Léopold Delayant bibliothécaire et historien de La Rochelle, ancien professeur de philosophie, chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur et officier de l'Instruction publique.

Delayant, biographie rochelaise, 355 (3488) tome 1^{er} (Bouhéreau, Élie). Jourdan, mémoires biographiques 319 (3424-3) Bouhéreau, fol. 195. G. Musset, Cat. des. manuscrits, pages 139 et 187. Arcère ii. 420—Biog. Michaud.—Savants et illustres Rochelais, mss. 163. Bayle, art. Origène—Lettre de T. Faber.—Callot, Rochelle protestante—Éloge de M. Richard.

Élie Bouhéreau, pasteur à Fontenay-le-comté, fut appelé à La Rochelle pour y suppléer Colomiés en 1640; il y resta jusqu'à sa mort, arrivée le 23 juin 1653, il n'avait que 52 ans. Son fils y était né 1642. La perte qu'il faisait si jeune ne nuisit pas à son éducation dirigé probablement par son oncle Étienne Richard; il fit de fortes études a l'académie de Saumur. Il y eut pour professeur le savant Tanneguy Lefèvre, dont il garda, toute sa vie, le souvenir. Il conquit son affection. Il n'avait que seize ans lorsque ce savant lui écrivit, le 26 mars 1658, la première lettre qu'on ait conservée. Ce n'est qu'une plainte, sur le ton de la plaisanterie, de son état de santé, mêlée de vers latins et grecs; mais peu de nos écoliers de cet âge la comprendraient. C'est en 1663, lorsque Bouhéreau n'étant plus un enfant, n'était pas encore un homme, selon l'expression de Lefèvre lui-même, qui nec puer erat nec rir, que cette correspondance devint active. Il n'y a pas dans cette année moins de vingt lettres de Lefèvre à Bouhéreau, et elles traitent les matières, elles indiquent les auteurs que nous regardons comme le plus spécialement réservés aux érudits. L'antiquité seule en fait l'objet, bien entendu; surtout l'antiquité grecque. Lefèvre montre pour la langue latine un grand dédain relatif: elle lui parait comparativement Du reste tout est bon à son érudition, depuis les matières semi-barbare. les plus hauts de la Bible, des épîtres de St. Paul, jusqu'aux caprices les plus légers d'Ovide, aux gaietés les plus vives de Pétrone. Il en prend même bien librement la langue, et quelques mots de ses propres vers latins ont essité des..... Pour tout réunir dans un seul trait, une étude

complète des Harangueuses d'Aristophane, traduction latine et commentaire, est l'objet d'une de ces lettres. On conçoit que ce fût un honneur de les reçevoir, et que Bayle ait dit: "M. Bouhéreau si connu par les doctes lettres que M. Lefèvre, de Saumur lui a écrites (art. Origène, rem. L.) 11 lett. XVIII.

Bouhéreau parait n'avoir pas eu moins de soin de la langue française. Il entretint, dans sa jeunesse, une correspondence assidue avec V. Conrart, l'académicien au silence prudent, grammairien attentif, comme on l'était alors, à la formation et aux progrès de la langue. Ses notes sur Origène en ont conservé des traces.

Ce n'était pourtant ni aux lettres, ni à l'enseignement, ni au ministère religieux que se destinait Bouhéreau: comme son cousin Élie Richard, il se fit médecin. Le passage d'une étude à l'autre lui parait dur, mais il vit qu'on pouvait les réunir, il en témoigne et en donne une preuve dans une lettre adressée au médecin Antoine Meujot, en Mai 1679 et imprimée à la suite de son Origène, ou il relève une faute des éditions de Platon, qui avait induit en erreur Boileau dans sa traduction de Longin, et discute un passage de Lucrèce. Il fut reçu docteur en médecine dans l'université d'Orange, le Reçu docteur, Bouhéreau voyagea en Italie avec Elie 29 mars 1667. Richard, puis revint exercer sa profession à La Rochelle, Ce tiers de siècle qu'un écrivain récent (Edinburgh Review, July, 1866, p. 104) signale comme le plus heureux pour le protestantisme français, ce temps, où n'étant plus un parti politique, il jouissait dans une mesure suffisante de l'égalité civile et de la liberté du culte, était expiré. Dans le délire de son orgueil, le pouvoir absolu voulait forcer tous les Français à être de la Religion du Roi. Parmi les mesures prises dans ce but, figurait l'établissement à La Rochelle d'un Collége de Médecine, dont il faudrait faire partie pour exercer cet art dans la ville; et on ne pourraient être admis que des catholiques. C'était interdire aux trois Médecins protestants1 l'exercice de leur profession. Quelque indignés qu'ils fussent de cette mesure, ils n'osèrent pas l'attaquer directement. Richard, cousin et confrère de Bouhéreau, se borna à publier une lettre à Mue D. B. sur le choix d'un médecin. Il lui disait qu'il valait mieux se passer de médecin qu'en appeler un mauvais, et il traçait les caractères auxquels on peut reconnaître celui-ci. Pour nous, il n'y a là que des généralités, à peu près incontestables; il est indubitable que pour les contemporains tout était allusion. Un médecin catholique, Venette, le comprit ainsi, et publia une réponse. Bouhéreau réplique par la Réponse de Mile. D. B. à la seconde lettre qui lui a été écrite sur le choix d'un Médecin. Il raille plus qu'il ne raisonne : il attaque Venette sur son style, et consacre

¹ Bouhéreau, Richard, et Seignette.

la moitié de sa réplique à des critiques grammaticales. Venette publia encore une Réponse à la lettre de Mile. D. B. sur le choix d'un médecin. Il y expliquait nettement toute l'affaire, et montrait que le début était entre catholiques et protestants. Les protestants ne répliquerent que par deux épigrammes, qu'ils joignirent à l'écrit de Venette dans une réimpression des quatre lettres et qu'une note qui me semble contemporaine attribue à notre Cette querelle est des années 1683 et 1684. Prise en ellemême, elle laisse le tort aux médecins protestants, qui s'en prenaient à leurs confrères d'une mesure dont ils n'étaient pas responsables, mais outre que l'oppression excuse bien un peu de mauvaise humeur, comment apprécierons-nous la part des rivalités de métier dans les intrigues que couvrait le prétexte de la Religion. L'année suivante vit la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes. Bouhéreau quitta la France; il avait des parents en Écosse, et chercha un asile en Angleterre. Membre du Consistoire de La Rochelle, il emporta les papiers que celui-ci jugeait les plus intéressants. Il emportait aussi une traduction avancée du Traité d'Origène contre Celse. l'avis de plusieurs pasteurs protestants, entre autres de Claude, qu'il y avait quelques inconvénients à mettre, par une traduction, cet auteur entre toutes les mains, et Bouhéreau hésita quelque temps à publier son œuvre. À la fin pourtant il s'y décida. Sa traduction parut en 1700 à Amsterdam, chez H. Desbordes, un vol. in 4°. Elle était dédiée au Marquis de Ruvigny devenu Comte de Galway, Protestant réfugié comme lui. Ruvigny avait été Député général des Églises réformées, il avait eu de grands rapports avec les Rochelais, il fut l'appui de Bouhéreau qu'il prit pour secrétaire. La dédicace de celui-ci est certainement d'une réserve et d'une noblesse de ton tout à fait remarquable.

Sa traduction réussit; mais elle ne fut d'abord jugée que par des L'histoire des ouvrages des Savants (Xbre 1699); Les co-religionnaires. nouvelles de la République des lettres (Janvier 1700) en firent l'éloge. Dom Ceillier (1730) en a dit depuis: "Cette traduction s'éloigne en plusieurs endroits de la traduction latine, et parait plus conforme au texte original; mais l'auteur s'y est donné quelquefois trop de liberté." Goujet a copié ce jugement si sommaire et tout le monde a copié Goujet. Seul l'abbé Gourcy est plus sévère; il trouve au contraire que "Bouhéreau n'est qu'un timide esclave qui se traîne presque toujours sur les pas de son maître." Reste à savoir si un traducteur ne doit pas être un esclave, s'il est permis d'en agir avec son auteur comme Gourcy en agit avec Origène, donnant, de son aveu de son Traité contre Celse une analyse plutôt qu'une traduction, et si cela donne droit d'appeler son devancier 'un servile et ennuyeux interprète qui oute aux longueurs et aux redondances de l'original le défaut d'une diction languissante, embarrassée, peu correcte, et surannée même en quelques endroits."

Je ne voudrais pourtant pas soutenir que ces reproches soient complètement immérités. Mais il faut songer que bien que la littérature française ait atteint son point culminant sous Louis XIV., la prose courante, la prose sous les plumes secondaires y a moins de légereté qu'elle n'en a acquis depuis; que la traduction est de tous les genres celui qui favorise le moins cette qualité; que parmi les auteurs qu'on peut traduire, il y en a peu qui y prètent moins qu'Origène. On peut ajouter, si l'on veut, que Bouhéreau écrivait en province ou à l'étranger.

En fait, cette traduction n'a pas été refaite, elle est la seule que je sache qui existe de ce traité: il est vrai qu'elle n'a pas non plus été réimprimée. Apparemment, Origène n'est lu que par les savants qui lisent le texte, en s'aidant, tout au plus, d'une version latine, à moins qu'on n'admette que si beaucoup de gens parlent d'Origène, peu le lisent. Gourcy, qui ménage si peu Bouhéreau, ajoute pourtant qu'il jouit d'une réputation méritée comme éditeur et comme commentateur. C'est confirmer l'éloge qu'on a fait de ses notes sur le texte et de ses remarques, qui occupent 80 pages. On a dit que sa traduction avait été revue et corrigée par Conrart, sans songer qu'il y avait vingt-huit ans que cet académicien était mort lorsqu'elle parut. Le fait est que Bouhéreau l'avait consulté sur des difficultés grammaticales. Ses écrits prouvent qu'il connaissait aussi bien les bons auteurs de son pays que ceux de l'antiquité. Si donc on peut lui contester la renommée d'écrivain, on ne peut lui disputer celle d'érudit. Moins fécond que Colomiés, il n'est pas moins habile. Il est impossible de ne pas remarquer que cette société protestante rochelaise que dispersa la persécution était singulièrement instruite et active.

Bouhéreau ne resta pas jusqu'à sa mort secrétaire de lord Galway: il ne le suivit point en Espagne. Recommandé a l'Évèque protestant de Dublin, il fut d'abord son bibliothécaire, puis celui de la Bibliothèque Marsh de Dublin. Enfermé dans ces fonctions de lettre, il ne donna qu'un signe de vie à l'extérieur. En 1708, lorsque parut la seconde édition de l'Histoire des Réformés de La Rochelle de 1660 à 1687, elle était précédée d'une lettre de Bouhéreau à l'auteur. Il avait alors 66 ans. Nous ne connaissons pas la date de sa mort. Il n'avait pas oublié sa chère église de La Rochelle. En laissant à la bibliothèque Marsh ses papiers, il recommandait qu'on les renvoyât à La Rochelle, si Dieu permettait que l'église réformée y retrouvât sa place. Les successeurs de Bouhéreau à Dublin ont cru, il y a six ans, l'heure arrivée; le consistoire de La Rochelle averti a fait venir ce dépôt. La révolution de 1789 n'avait laissé aucun intérêt à des titres de propriété qui

paraissaient les plus importants aux fugitifs: quelques pièces, en petit nombre, ont de la valeur pour l'histoire ou pour les lettres. On y trouve un dialogue entre Reveau et le père de Bouhéreau sur le suicide, écrit en latin, mais rien qui ajoute à l'histoire do notre Élie. Seulement après plus d'un siècle et demi un de ses derniers vœux a été exaucé.

APPENDIX E.

- LIST OF THE BOUHEREAU MANUSCRIPTS REMAINING IN MARSH'S LIBRARY, NOW PLACED IN ROOM Z.
- Schedule of the French Protestant Documents, 372 in number, restored to the Consistory of La Rochelle, 23rd September, 1862.
- Copies of the aforesaid French Protestant Documents, made by Robert Travers, M.D., originally in seven notebooks; six are extant; the missing book contained nos. 61-132.
- Two vols. of "Memoires et pieces pour servir a l'histoire generale de la persecution faitte en france contre ceux de La Religion Reformée depuis l'annee 1656 jusqu'a La Revocation de L'Edit de Nantes, faitte par celuy donnée a fontainbleau au moys d'octobre 1685." These volumes consist of original documents, MSS. and printed, arranged in chronological order, with a connecting narrative. This is probably the "writing" to which Bouhéreau refers in his will.
- Commonplace Book [original classing R 3. 1. 25] containing:—
 - (1) Annotationes In Organum Aristotelis a D. J. Posa Phylosophiae professore dictatae anno . . . 1593 mense januario. 33 leaves num. foll. by one blank leaf.
 - (2) Annotationes in librum Physicorum Aristotelis a D. J. Posa, &c. dictatae 1593 mense novembro, 11 leaves n. n. foll. by one leaf blank; another with 13 lines of Latin on r°; another with entries of marriages, &c. on top of r° and v°.
 - (3) Journal François de ce qui s'est passé en la Rochelle, depuis 1584 jusqu'a 1643, par Joseph Guillandeau [Dr. Bouhéreau's grand-de], 102 pp. and half r° of another, continued for 14 leaves after p of 13 leaves; also 3 loose leaves, 2 of which refer to 1632.
 - 11 the other and of the vol. 1 Compendium logicae, 99 pp. num.

- (5) Annotationes Compendii in Phy[si]cam francisci Titesmani a D. J. Posa . . . dictatae anno 1593 mense novembro, 14 leaves, n. n. foll. by 3 pp. French and one blank leaf.
- (6) Annotationes in Ethica Aristotelis a Domino Bruno dictatae . . . anno . . . 1594 mense Martio, 13 leaves.
- Actes de tous les Synodes Nationaux des Églises Réformées de France [original classing, R 2. 1, 11, 12].

Tome Premier, contenant les 22 premiers Synodes, 1559-1617. Tome Second, contenant les sept derniers Synodes, -1659.

Bouhéreau Correspondence in 7 portfolios.

- Curriculum totius Philosophiae. In Aristotelis logicam commentarius Auctore Johanne Dumbaro Scoto, Philosophiae professore; Πορφυρίου εἰσαγωγὴ De quinque vocibus simplicibus praedicabilibus; Arist. Categoriae; Arist. de interpretatione; Arist. Analyticorum priorum et posteriorum libri; Arist. Topicorum libri octo; Arist. de Sophisticis Elenchis; De Methodo; In Arist. Philosophiam naturalem commentarius; Ethicae Medulla; Oeconomicorum nucleus Metaphysicae succus De Sphaera Tractatus quidam [written out by Dr. Bouhéreau's father, 1618, 1619; original classing, R1. 1. 17].
- Chronologia Sacra summatim collecta ab Eliâ Boherello [Dr. Bouhéreau's father; original classing, R2. 1. 5].
- Recueil Touchant l'origine et le progres de la Ville de la Rochelle . . . jusques en l'an mil six cents vingt & huit, que le Roy Louis XIII. fit demolir ses murailles, Par Pierre Mervault, Rochelois, MD.CLXXI.
- Formula Consensus Ecclesiarum Helvetiarum Reformatarum circa Doctrinam de Gratia, &c.

College Note-books of Élie Bouhéreau.

- Compendium de Chreiâ; Syntagma Artis Oratoriae; De Rhetorica Speciali; Sphaerae Explicatio. Quae omnia ex ore Praeceptoris, nom: Doull: in primo Classium ordine, excipiebat, et manu scribebat, Salmurii, Elias Boherellus . . . 1657 [original classing, R 2. 5. 31].
- Cursus Philosophiae Manuscriptus ex ore Isaaci Hugonis exceptus ab Eliâ Boherello, &c.:
- (a) Tom. i. continens Prolegomena de nat. logicae et Isagogen Porphýrfi. 1658.

- (b) Tom. ii. continens Categorias et Librum de Interpretatione. 1658.
- (c) Tom. ii. continens Priores et Posteriores Analyticos, Libros octo Topycorum et duos de Sophisticis Elenchis. 1658.
- (d) Tom. iv. continens Summam Physicae. 1659.
- (e) Tom. v. continens Prolegomena Physicis et octo Libros Physicae Auscultationis. 1659.
- (f) Tom. vi. continens Libros de Caelo, de Ortu et Interitu et de Anima [original classing of these, R 1. 1. 40-45].

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

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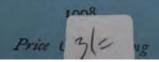
H. J. LAWLOR

ALENDAR OF THE LIBER RUBER OF THE DIOCESE OF OSSORY



DUBLIN

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V.

CALENDAR OF THE LIBER RUBER OF THE DIOCESE OF OSSORY,

BY REV. H. J. LAWLOR, D.D.

Rend APRIL 27. Ordered for Publication May 13. Published July 31, 1908.

PREFACE.

The Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossory is a manuscript containing eighty leaves of vellum (including f. 6, which is of half the usual width), the normal measurements of which are 300×210 mm. Two consecutive leaves have the number 17, and those numbered 54 and 55 (recte 56, 55) have been transposed by the binder. The formation of its seven gatherings of leaves may be exhibited thus:—

 A_5 (A5 without conjugate) B_{12} C_{12} D_{12} E_{12} F_{17} (F2, 3, 15 without conjugates) G_{10} (G3, 4 without conjugates).

A table of contents written on four leaves of paper was prefixed to the volume in the eighteenth century. It was compiled, if I mistake not, by the scribe who made one of the copies of Archbishop Alan's Register now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (MS. 554).

The book was known in the seventeenth century by the title which it now bears; and it was then regarded as the oldest existing record of the see, as appears from the following inscription on f. 1:—

"Liber Ruber Diocesis Ossoriensis, antiquissimus ecclesiæ Ossoriensis.² Rich. Connell, Notarius Publicus, Registrarius dictæ Diocesis principalis, Anno Domini 1678."

The name which the volume is thus proved to have borne for more than two centuries was plainly due to the colour of its original cover, which still remains. It was bound in oak boards covered with red leather.

The date of its original compilation can be fixed within somewhat narrow limits. For nos. 14, 15, 17-22, 24-33, 37-40, 43, 49 (?), which comprise the

¹ See Hermathena, xiv. 301.

² The obvious inference from this phrase is that the *Liber Albus* was already lost. A sixteenth-century copy of some charters contained in it has been printed by Dr. H. F. Berry in the *Proceedings* of the Academy, vol. xxvii., sect. C, no. 3. They all date from a period much earlier than that of the *Liber Ruber*.

greater part of the book, and doubtless at first the whole of its contents, are penned, if not by a single hand, at least by a small number of nearly contemporary hands. The latest of these documents (nos. 31, 32) belong to the year 1360. But a note at the end of no. 22, in a different hand from the body of the article, proves that that article was penned before 1396. The bulk of the manuscript was, therefore, written between 1360 and 1396. And it may probably be placed nearer the former than the latter of these years. For Richard Ledred, Bishop of Ossory, 1317–1360, is prominent throughout (see nos. 14, 15, 19, 20); and the more important of the documents enumerated above fall within the period of his Episcopate. We shall perhaps not be far wrong if we suppose that the *Liber Ruber* was written about the time of his death, mainly as a record of memorabilia of the Diocese of Ossory during his pastorate. It is some confirmation of this view that three of the later additions are copies of documents which may be dated within twenty years of his death (nos. 11, 12, 34.)

A copy was made of at least portions of the Liber Ruber for Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, in 1686, which was afterwards in the possession of John Stearne, Bishop of Clogher. Sir James Ware also made some extracts from the book which are still in existence. The volume containing them subsequently became the property of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, Viceroy of Ireland, and passed with other of his manuscripts to the Duke of Chandos. The Clarendon manuscripts next came into the hands of Dr. Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter, by whom they were presented to the British Museum. That one with which we are immediately concerned is now Additional Manuscript 4787. It is sometimes cited as Clarendon Manuscript 36. Both Dopping's and Ware's transcripts were made use of by Wilkins in his Concilia Magnae Britanniae, which appeared in 1737.

A description and calendar of the Liber Ruber by Sir John T. Gilbert was printed in 1885 in the Tenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix, Part V, p. 219 ff.; and in an appendix thereto (p. 228 ff.) many of the documents are given in their entirety. More recently many extracts from the book have been printed by the Rev. William Carrigan in his History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory, 1905. In the following Calendar advantage has been taken of the labours of these two writers.

The compiler has to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance given him

^{- 18.} Ayecough, Catalogue of Additional Manuscripts, 1783, vol. i, p. vii; Bornard's Catalogue, 1697,

[.] M. part ii, p. 3; Diet. of Nat. Biog., vii. 162.
'Bee vol. ii, p. 501, vol. iii, p. 669,

by M. J. McEnery, Esq., of the Public Record Office of Ireland. He is also much indebted to the kindness of the late Bishop of Ossory, now Bishop of Down, and of the present Bishop of Ossory, who have given him special facilities for his work on the *Liber Ruber*.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE CALENDAR.

A, . . Benefice belonging to the Abbess of Kilculliheen.

B, . . Benefice in the Bishop's gift.

Carrigan, . The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory, by the Rev. William Carrigan, c.c., with a Preface by the Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg, Lord Bishop of Ossory. Dublin, 1505.

E, . . Benefice belonging to the Economy of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny.

HMC, . Historical Manuscripts Commission, Tenth Report, Appendix, Part V. 1885.

I, . . Benefice belonging to the Prior of Inistioge.

Irish Statutes, Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of Parliament of Ireland.

King John to Henry V. Ed. H. F. Berry, 1907.

J, . . Benefice belonging to the Prior of St. John's, Kilkenny.

K, . . Benefice belonging to the Prior of Kells.

P. . Parishioners.

Papal Letters, Calendars of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters, ed. W. H. Bliss and others, 1893.

R, . . Rector, Rectory.

Statutes, . . Statutes of the Realm (Record Commission), 1810-1828.

T, Benefice belonging to the Abbot of St. Thomas's, Dublin.

V, . . Vicar, Vicarage.

W . . Benefice belonging to the Prior of St. Katherine's, Waterford.

Wilkins. . Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae. London, 1737.

CALENDAR.

1. The Rents of the Bishop of Ossory.

Cent. xv. They are as follows:—At Deruagh £53 12s. 2d.; Aghtur £28 9s. 0\frac{1}{2}d.; Kylkenny £26 2s. 3d.; Owtrath £19 17s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.; Logh' £46 5s. 11\frac{1}{2}d.; Insnake £51 19s. 8d.; Thascofyn £13 9s. 11\frac{1}{2}d.; Clonmor £5 0s. 21d.; Seyrkeran and Fynchor £24 12s. 8d. Sum £259 11s. 4\frac{1}{2}d. The manor of Seyrkeran contains 240 acres of arable land in the lordship, and the land of the burgesses, who are 61 in number, contains 300, making 440 acres (sic) in all, besides £10 13s. 4d. in rent from outsiders (in redditu forenc'), the mill excepted. Thus the arable land being estimated at 6d. an

acre comes to at least £14 a year, the mill and other things not being counted.

The first portion is repeated below, no. 23, with some variations of spelling.

Printed in Carrigan iv. 436.

2. Names of the villas of Seyr.

f. 1.

Cent. xv. They are: Brechmorh, Cuyllnafernog, Achaworcy in Long-port, Caenachann in Fygkach, Carrmata of Saeyr, Cyllmeagayn, Chapel of Fyncora.

Printed in R. Butler's ed. of Clyn's Annals (Irish Archæological Society), p. 50.

- 3. Amercements of the Churches of Ossory.

 f. 2.

 Middle of cent. xv(?) For each church the rector (R), vicar (V) and parishioners (P) are assessed separately, as follows:—
- (a) Obaryoun Deanery: Thomastown R 2s., V 6d., P 2s.; Cowan, Bryd, Barcoun R 6d., V 3d., P 6d. in each case; Gorme R 6d., V. 3d., P 12d. [Rower], Lesterlyn, Mothan, Hauok R 12d., V 6d., P 12d. in each case; Styok R V P 12d. each; Colme R 2s., V 12d., P 2s. Sum 27s.
- (b) Silclogher' Deanery: Rothan, Broke R 2s., V 12d., P 2s. in each case; Dammaht, Wallycallan (sic), Manag, Combusta R 12d., V 6d., P 12d. in each case; Rathill R 6d.; Delkyn, Marow, Rath P 12d. in each case; Downfert, R V P 12d. each; Fer[ah], [....] R P 6d. each in each case; Wolehan (?) R P 12d. each. Sum 30s.
- (e) Ouerk Deanery: Rathpatrik, Donkytt R 12d., V 6d., P 12d. in each case; Kylkylleghyne, Kyltakane, Tybryt, Ballytartyn R P 6d. each in each case; Kylmaboygh R 8d., V 6d., P 12d.; Kylbecok, Kylkned, Kyllagh, Maculli, Illyd, Portscholl (?) R 6d., V 3d., P 6d. in each case; Rakyeran (?),

¹ Written here and elsewhere 'Silr' or 'Sillr,' with marks of contraction.

Polrothan R 6d., V 3d., P 12d. in each case; Balmartyn R V 6d. each; Beawley, R P 3d. each; Fydone R V P 12d. each; Fothram, Kylmethall, Cassellan R V P 6d. each in each case; Clonmor R P 8d. each.

- (d) Kenlys Deanery: Kenlys, Evylhart R P 12d. each in each case; Erley, Kylmeghen R 12d., V 6d., P 12d. in each case; Callan R 2s., V 12d., P 2s.; Coylagh, Tyllamayne R 12d., V 6d., P 6d. in each case; Kyldresse, Kylamery P 6d. in each case; Lomok R P 6d. each; Maylardystoun R 6d., V 3d., P 6d.; Ballagh R V P 6d. each; Kyllalo [here follows space of several lines].
- (e) Aghour P 8d.; Kylrusche R 4d., P 8d.; Kyldrynagh V 4d.; Tybbert P 12d.; Clonetybbert P 6d.; Aghmecart R 6d., P 12d.; Kyllynn V 3d. V (sic) 6d.; Arke V 6d., P 12d.
- (f) Odogh Deanery: Casteldogh R 6d., V 3d., P 12d.; Glascro R 3d., P 4d.; Ratbeagh, Dyrwagh R 3d., P 6d. in each case; Rosconyll R 4d., P 8d.; Castelcomyr R 6d., P 12d.; Mocholly, Kylmecar, V 3d., P 6d. in each case; Donmore V 4d., P 8d.; Coulcrayghyn R P 4d. each; Mayn P 4d.; Aghtere P 6d.

Printed in Carrigan iv. 387.

This list has certain features in common with those of nos. 21 and 41 (which will be shown to be related to each other) which are not shared by the lists in nos. 19, 20, 22. For example, the church of Tullahought is here reckoned as belonging to the deanery of Kells, and the churches of Kilbeacon and Killahy as belonging to Iverk, in agreement with nos. 21, (36), 41: in nos. 19, 20, 22 the first is placed in the deanery of Iverk, and the last two in the deanery of Kells. Again, nos. 19, 20, 22 give the church of Galmoy, in the deanery of Aghour: its place seems to be taken in nos. 21, 41 by Glashare and Erke, and in no. 3 by Erke. In like manner nos. 19, 20 have Carcoman, for which apparently nos. 3, 21, 41 substitute Kiltakan and Ballymartin. And finally no. 3 has a number of churches mentioned in the group 21, 36, 41 which do not occur, or are called by different names, in nos. 19, 20, 22. Such, for instance, are Tullaroan, Damma, Ballycallan, Rathealy, Outrath, Tullamaine, Kiltrassy, Killaloe, Kilrush. In many respects in which nos. 3, 21, 41 differ from nos. 19, 20, 22 they are in agreement with the Regal Visitation of 1615. From these facts it may be inferred that no. 3 is of later date than nos. 19, 20, 22, i.e. after 1318 A.D. It was transcribed about A.D. 1500, though apparently from an earlier, mutilated original. Thus we seem to be justified in placing it not very late in the fifteenth century; but there appear to be no data for determining the date more exactly. Cf. notes on nos. 36, 41.

4. Bull of Adrian (IV).

f. 3v.

1154. Grants Ireland to Henry II.

Printed in Rymer's Foedera i. 19.

5. Note.

f. 3v.

Henry II came to Ireland and held a council at Cashel 1172.

6. Bull of Alexander (III).

f. 3v.

1172. Confirms the Bull of Adrian IV (no. 4).

From Giraldus Cambrensis, Expug. Hib. ii. 5.

For the date see Giraldus I. c., Hoveden's Chronica, s. a. 1171.

7. Excommunication.

f. 4.

1362 × 1366 Bishop John excommunicates Walter Wals, prior of or St. John's near Kylkenny, and places his priory under 1398 × 1400 interdict for his contumacy in not appearing and giving satisfaction for the pension due to Kylkenny Cathedral.

1404 × 1405. Printed in Carrigan iii. 252.

There were several Bishops of Ossery named John before the Reformation, viz.: de Oxford, 1362 1366; Waltham, Griffin, and another John, 1398-1400; Waltham again, 1404-1405; O'Hedian, 1479-1487. One of these must have issued the above excommunication; but the last-named seems to be excluded by the character of the hand in which this article is written.

8. Part of a homily (?).

f. 4.

Instances from King Saul to the Emperor Theodosius the Great of kings being punished for their sins.

- 9. The articles for which Thomas (à Becket), Bishop of Canterbury, was exiled.
- Account of the Synod of Cashel.
 Copied from Giraldus Cambrensis, Expug. Hib. i. 35.
- 11. Memorandum of an agreement between the Dean and Chapter of 1 January, 1376. the Cathedral Church of Ossory and the proctor of St. Augustine's Abbey near Bristoll, rectors of Dysert o Loscan Church, on the one part, and Sir Robert Comys, vicar of the same, on the other part.

 f. 5.

The former grant to the latter the sanctuary land of the church with the altarages; the latter is to support all the burdens of the church. The agreement is for the life of said vicar.

Printed in H M C 261.

12. Letter of Edward III to the sovereign superiori, provost, and 28 January 1373 × 1377. community of Kylkeny. f. 5.

Adexander Petit de Ralscott Bishop of Ossory, has shown that, holding his temporalities from the king in capite, he has a market every Wednesday in his villa of Irystown near Kylkeny, which is part of his temporalities, and that he and his predecessors have held this market and their liberty within the cross of the bishopric, freely without payment of any customs out of salcable things for the murage of Kylkeny, from the time of the foundation of St. Kanice's Church; nevertheless the sovereign provest, and community of Kylkeny have demanded and unjustly taken such customs, on the ground of royal letters patent, and the Rishop has sought a remedy from the King.

Accordingly, an inquisition having been taken before the Chancellor of Ireland, brother William Tany, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, from which it appears that the Bishop's statement is correct, it is commanded that henceforth no such customs be taken on the ground of said letters patent. Dated at Dublin, per 'petitionem de parliamento.'

Printed in H M C 262.

The heading gives the year as 38 Edward III (1364). But Tany did not become Chancellor till after August, 1372 (Cal. of Chancery Rolls, Ireland, p. 84, no. 126, p. 85, nos. 3, 6).

13. Provincial constitutions made by the Archbishop of Dublin with 1518. his [suffragan] bishops and religious persons. f. 5v.

The substance of the constitutions is as follows:—(1) That priests from Conact and Ultonia be not admitted unless in the judgment of the ordinary they be found fit. (2) That persons who do not pay pasture and 'simili ordine' tithes are excommunicated. (3) That Irish clerks who do not pay procurations to the Archbishop and other burdens laid upon the churches be denounced as excommunicated by all curates, on pain of suspension 'quo ad ultim vale ste' (qu. ite = item) disponi cle. dud's et cet'is provinbus const' adit' [sic] in hac pte.'1 (4) Tin chalices are to be disused (suspense) after a year, and henceforth none are to be consecrated which are not at least made of silver. (5) Two valuers are to be appointed by the bishop to apprise the goods of the dead. [Offenders against this rule] are ipso facto excommunicated, and are to be denounced by the curates, even without letters from the ordinaries. (6) If temporal persons do not pay the half part of the obventions of their houses in cemeteries, their goods and persons, being in the said cemeteries or the churches, shall have no ecclesiastical immunity. (7) Provincial statutes and synodals must be put in force (exequi) by the ordinaries and curates under the penalties contained in the same. (8) A grant or farm made to laymen, of any ecclesiastical goods, without the assistance of a clerk, is void. (9) Clerks playing football shall for every offence pay 40d to the ordinary and 40d for the repair of the church in which the game has been played. (10) Those who impose lay burdens and necessary exactions on any church are excommunicated, the royal power excepted. (11) The council defines all procurations among Irishmen due to the bishop on account of visitations, and orders that payment thereof is to be compelled by ecclesiastical censure, so, however, that the statute "Instud'" may extend to the payment of procurations to all

¹ These words are given as they stand in the Ms. It seems impossible to extract any coherent meaning from them; and the surmise of Wilkins, that the text is corrupt, appears to be justified.

to whom they are due; and it is approved that all such, both among Irish and English, should be paid according to the ancient annals (?) (according) and rolls framed therefor in the several dioceses.

Printed in Wilkins iii. 660.

14. Constitutions of the Diocese of Ossory.

f. 6.

6 October, 1317. The constitutions were made by Bishop Richard de Ledred at a Synod held in St. Canice's Cathedral Church, Kilkenny, and contain the following:—(1) A profession of faith in the Trinity, followed by a command that if anyone in the diocese is aware that any person is preaching heresy therein, he is to give information thereof within a month after it has come to his knowledge. (2) All undedicated churches, cemeteries, and chapels having rectors are to be dedicated, and all dedicated churches which have been violated to be reconciled, within six months from last Michaelmas, under a penalty of 40s. to the alms of the bishop, and payment of procurations due for such consecration or reconciliation. In every dedicated church the date of the dedication, with the names of the [saint] to whom it was dedicated and the person by whom it was dedicated, and the number of days' indulgence granted at the consecration, is to be inscribed near the great altar, and the anniversary of the dedication is to be observed. (3) Persons having cure of souls and not being priests are, in accordance with the ordinance of Pope Boniface VIII, to obtain, within a year, promotion to all holy orders necessary for their cures, and are to reside in their benefices unless lawfully dispensed. (4) None hereafter shall be admitted to a perpetual vicarage with cure of souls unless he be a priest, or at least a deacon or subdeacon, to be ordained to the priesthood at the next ensuing Embertide, and, renouncing all other benefices which he may hold, shall take an oath to reside constantly in the same. (5) Everyone obtaining a benefice with cure, who has been dispensed from residence, shall by letters patent appoint a proctor in such benefice, and, if there be not a perpetual vicar in the benefice, shall, on the day on which licence of absence is granted, present a priest to the bishop, who shall have a share of the fruits assigned to him, at the bishop's direction, for his support and for sustaining the burdens of the church towards the ordinaries. (6) Since neither evangelical authority nor canonical severity has availed to restrain clerks and priests from openly keeping concubines, it is commanded that every clerk in holy orders in the diocese of Ossory who openly keeps a concubine in his own or another's house shall put her away within a month from the publication of this constitution. If not, he shall be suspended from his office, and further he shall lose a third part of the fruits of his benefice, to be

disposed of at the will of the bishop. Those who are disobedient after such punishment are to be deprived. (7) Since it is reported that it is customary to farm ecclesiastical benefices for long periods or for ever (quasi perpetuo) to laymen, who collect the fruits, turning them into lay fees, and allowing the buildings to fall into ruin, so that the worship of God is diminished, the cure of souls neglected, and the jurisdiction of the ordinary destroyed, and that the wives of the farmers, after the death of their husbands, demand oblations and tithes at the altar during the celebration of Mass, and receive sentences of excommunication, 'ptpe (?) intentantes'; it is therefore strictly prohibited henceforth to set to farm any parish church, prebend, vicarage, dignity, or office of jurisdiction to laymen on pain of the greater excommunication. (8) No dignity or benefice shall be farmed to ecclesiastical persons for a long period, except on the ground of urgent necessity and with the bishop's licence, and then for not more than five years; and a copy of the agreement, in such cases, shall be deposited with the bishop. When a benefice is so farmed, if there be no perpetual vicar, a portion of the fruits shall be assigned to a parochial presbyter, who shall be then presented to the bishop, for the performance of divine offices in the church, for his maintenance, and for paying the burdens of the church to the ordinaries. At the conclusion of the period of five years the agreement with the farmer may be renewed if the bishop consents. No vicarage shall be set to farm in any manner. If any benefice be farmed contrary to this statute, it is decreed, with the consent of the Chapter of St. Canice's and of the major part of the clergy of the diocese, that a third part of the revenues thereof shall be applied, in equal shares, to the fabric of the cathedral and to the alms of the bishop. (9) No rector or vicar, or proctor or farmer of the same, shall collect tithes of churches or ecclesiastical fruits outside the land (solum) of the church, turning it into a lay fee, nor sell the fruits collected in gross (so that the ordinaries cannot find fruits to sequestrate, if need be, for the maintenance of those who serve in the same, and for payment of burdens to be raised therefrom), [nor] transfer them in any way, on pain of the greater excommunication. (10) Laymen shall not carry out (?) attachments or secular judgments in churches or cemeteries or sanctuary; nor shall they lay hands on or convey away ecclesiastical possessions or goods, on pain of the greater excommunication. (11) Those who in any way violently remove persons accused of crime who have fled for refuge to churches, cemeteries, or cloisters, or plunder goods deposited therein for safety, or who shall aid or abet others in doing so, shall ipso facto incur the greater excommunication, from which they shall not be released until they have made reparation to the church for the injury which they have done to it, and, having done penance proportionate to

their sin, shall deserve the benefit of absolution. (12) Since often in this diocese many priests celebrate clandestine marriages, some at daybreak, others at midnight, without publication of banns according to the form of the Church, it is enacted that priests and contracting parties so acting shall be severely punished at the will of the bishop in accordance with the canons. (13) Anyone in public or in private maliciously charging his neighbour, especially if he be a clerk, and most of all if he be in holy orders, with crimes and enormities, so as to injure his character, shall incur the greater excommunication. (14) The foregoing statutes and synodals having been ordained by brother Richard (Ledred), Bishop of Ossory, with the express consent of the larger and saner part of the chapter of the cathedral church of St. Canice of the diocese of Ossory, with the assent of the greater part of the clergy of the whole diocese, he demands that all his subjects shall observe them, and they shall be recited every year at a synod to be held on the Tuesday after St. Michael's Day (29 September) in St. Canice's, by the bishop, or archdeacon, or the bishop's official. And he decrees that offenders against these statutes, where no fixed penalty is assigned therein, shall be punished at the will of the ordinary. Each rural dean shall procure a transcript thereof within a month, and, within six months thereafter, the rectors and vicars shall obtain copies through the deans for preservation in their churches. (15) Though bishops and priests have always in all nations been had in honour, yet inasmuch as some in this diocese seek to interfere with their exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and threaten to harass them in the secular courts, it is therefore ordained, with the unanimous consent of the chapter and clergy, that anyone who does violence to the bishop, or who spoils bishop, priest, rector, vicar, or clerk of goods, movable or immovable, in life or in death, or despoils the bishop in the episcopal manors or impedes his jurisdiction, or who aids and abets others in any of these things, shall ipso feeto incur the greater excommunication, from which he shall not be absolved the he has made full restitution and satisfaction. They shall also be without any ecclesiastical liberty or immunity, in their persons or their goods, in life and death, and shall not receive ecclesiastical burial. Priests who give them ecclesiastical burial shall incur the greater excommunication; and if a priest buries one of them in ignorance, when he learns the truth, he shall cause the body to be exhumed, and to be removed from sanctuary and cast upon a dunghill. Otherwise the church and cemetery are placed under interdict till the body is removed. (16) The custom of Catholics in the article of death and making disposition of their goods is to offer, in the first place, that which belongs to God and the Church, and to pay debts due to their neighbours, and to apply the remainder to good works, and for obtaining the aid of prayers for their souls. But it is said that certain men bestow the whole of their goods on others, some while they are in good health, in order that they may be able to slay others without thereby suffering the loss of their goods, and others when in the article of death, defrauding both the Church, their creditors, and their own souls. It is therefore ordered, with the assent of the chapter and clergy, that priests and curates of churches shall not, on pain of the greater excommunication, admit any who act in either of these ways to ecclesiastical burial without special licence of the bishop, and that those who receive such gifts shall be suspended from entrance to the church. These two statutes are to be recited publicly in the vulgar tongue by the vicars and parish priests in all parish churches on the first Sundays of Lent and Advent every year. (17) A general sentence of excommunication upon various classes of offenders follows, which is ordered to be recited in the mother tongue by all rectors, vicars, and parish priests in the diocese of Ossory in their churches during mass once a quarter, on pain of excommunication.

Printed in Wilkins, ii., 501.

For the date see no. 15.

15. Memorandum relating to no. 14.

f. 10v.

c. 1360. The memorandum was erased at an early date; and an attempt made about sixty years ago to restore the writing by means of a reagent was only partially successful. What can now be read runs as follows:—

"Memorandum quod anno domini millesimo ccco" (sic) sexto decimo translato Willelmo episcopo Ossoriensi quarto die post festum Annunciationis beate virginis [Marie] ad archiepiscopatum Cassellensem frater Ricardus de Ledred de ordine minorum de Anglia [oriund]us per sedem apostolicam factus est episcopus Ossoriensis pro illo substitutus qui admissus a rege [tem]poralibus e[...tr]aditis et literis apostolicis archiepiscopo [Dub]liniensi et capitulo suo Kilkennie [pu]blicatis celebrata inauguratione sua apud Kilkenniam conuocato capitulo et clero t[oto] diocesis primam synodum solempnem [in] octauis beati Michaelis sequentis solempniter (?) celebrauit et statuta synodalia supradicta per eum facta publicauit et de consensu capituli et cleri publice statuit observari. Qua synodo celebrata pro eo quod maneria episcopalia fuerunt destructa per guerram scotorum et vt plurimum combusta (?) episcopus petiuit subsidium a toto clero qui omnes de consensu omnium nulla bona traderent pro eo quod ipsi omnes (?) per dictam guerram [f]ructus¹ pauperati coll.... et ordin.. sunt (?) quod episcopus.. traret...

fructus benefici[orum].....d cum (?).. pro relevacione et reformacione maneriorum episcopalium....et.....et beneficia.....et viri religiosi occupant.....em partem. Ideo exiliter responsum est episcopo de beneficiis supradictis. Acta sunt hec die et loco supradictis."

The first portion was deciphered by the Rev. James Graves, and printed in Butler's edition of Clyn's Annals, p. 51, in 1849. It was again printed, less correctly, but with the addition of parts of the latter portion in H M C 233, and (with further additions) in Carrigan, i. 49.

The date given above assumes that the note was composed immediately before it was copied into the Liber Ruber. See Preface, p. 160. That it was not contemporary with no. 14 is proved by the error in the date assigned to the translation of Bishop William Fitz John, who was provided to Cashel, 26 March, 1317. (Papal Letters, ii., 162.)

16. The fixing of the bounds of the Bishop's manor of Dorow or 1460 × 1478 Derwache (Dirvagh in text). f. 11.

Certificate of Thomas Loundres, Notary public, that in the presence of him and witnesses, David (Hacket), Bishop of Ossory, caused the bounds to be fixed by Tirrelaus (Turlogh), son of Donat Irryghe McGillephadrik, his son Tatheus (Teige) the Red, Dermot McPaderisse, Sir Donat McKeve, priest, Tatheus (Teige) the Black McGillephadrik, Sir Kervallus (Carroll), Rector of Bordwell, Geoffrey McGillephadrik, captain of his nation, Kervallus (Carroll), son of Sir' John McKeve, and Dirvaill, daughter of Donat Riavr (?) (Reamhar, the Fat), who said that they had learned the bounds from their elders, the said Donat Irche, Padyn Ayghre, the daughter of Edmund Botiller, wife of the late McGillephadrik, William McCowchogery, Malemor McMalaghlynn Gille, Donat McLucas, Dirvayll iny (daughter) of Codye, Dermot son of the son of Dermot Carrygh, John McKeve, late Rector of Dirvagh, Donald, son of McGrynynn, Luke McCarroke, and William McGillerigh, viz. from Glantelwe to the oak Tillcuc, thence by Barr ne Beghe on the left to Liscomyn on the other side of the new ditch, and thence to Knokenoran by Guruan and the meadow, on the right hand.

Printed in Carrigan, ii. 217, where the places named are identified.

The dates between which the transaction described must lie are those of the appointment (1460) and death (1478) of David Hacket, Bishop of Ossory.

17. Provincial Constitutions of Archbishop Alexander (de Bicknor).

1317 × 1349

f. 11^v.

A council having been held in accordance with the ancient institution

¹ The original has 'd/', which may be read 'dicti' or 'domini.' The latter is to be preferred, since no John McKeve has been previously mentioned.

that metropolitans should celebrate provincial councils with their suffragan bishops every year, the following ordinances are made by the Archbishop with the consent and assent of his suffragans and the clergy of his diocese and province:-(1) Since some interfere with the ecclesiastics whose office it is to collect tithes, or their proctors or servants, so that the pope's tithes cannot be collected; while others, because ecclesiastics prosecute their ecclesiastical rights in the ecclesiastical courts, indict them, or cause them to be indicted, or procure their arrest, so that clerks are arrested in the public streets or in their dwellings, and are imprisoned till they pay a fine, and meanwhile are robbed of their goods; all persons so acting are pronounced excommunicated, and their 'loca' and lands where clerks shall be imprisoned are to be interdicted, and to be denounced by the ordinaries as interdicted, until the prisoners are set at liberty with their goods, and satisfaction is made for their losses; and during the interdict their captors and those who dwell on the lands shall be deprived of ecclesiastical burial and other sacraments of the Church, saving only the baptism of infants and penitence of the dying. (2) Since some seeking the refuge of the Church are so closely guarded that they can scarcely be supplied with food, and some are violently removed from the churches and cemeteries or the public road 'post abjurationem terre' and slain, all who take part in such deeds ipso facto incur sentence of greater excommunication. (3) All persons who remove or destroy the goods of ecclesiastical persons or churches against the will of the guardians, or who consent to or procure such acts, are declared to be violators of the immunity of the Church, and therefore to incur ipso facto sentence of greater excommunication, the King and Queen and their children only excepted. (4) Since it is a matter of ascertained law that religious men of whatever degree are inhibited from inducing any to vow or promise to select their churches as their place of burial, or not to depart from such selection already made, and from administering extreme unction or the eucharist or solemnizing matrimony for laics, without special licence from the rector, vicar, or parish priest, and that those who (except in cases allowed by law, or through privileges of the Apostolic See, or by provincial or synodal statutes) absolve persons excommunicated by canon, or, in their own words, 'a pena et a culpa,' ipso facto incur sentence of excommunication only to be absolved by the Apostolic See-and yet some disregard these prohibitions; it is ordered that every diocesan shall yearly make inquisition, and if he find such transgressors of the canons, shall pronounce them by name to have incurred the censures by law appointed, and shall cause all such to be publicly denounced as a class four times a year by the parochial priests. (5) No

penitentiaries or others are to absolve those who have committed perjury to the prejudice or loss of others, unless they have special licence therefor. in writing and by name, except in articulo mortis, [and perjurers who have been absolved in sickness, if they recover, are to be enjoined to go to the diocesan of the place to receive penance. (6) None below the rank of a bishop is to absolve from murder. (7) Since it has happened that, when the possessor of a benefice is in remote parts, another pretending to be his proctor, and to be called upon to defend his cause before a judge, has fraudulently obtained authentication of his letters of procuration from a rural dean or other superior, whom he has asked to affix his seal to them, and has thus obtained possession of the benefice, it is ordered that no dean, archdeacon, archdeacon's official, or bishop's official set his seal to any letters of procuration, unless it is publicly sought from him, [or] unless the person who appoints the proctor, being present, personally requires him so to do. Offenders against this ordinance are to be suspended for three years. Advocates or proctors acting in the way described ipso facto incur sentence of excommunication, and are to be suspended from their office for four years, and also to be otherwise punished at the will of the diocesan. (8) Since some, stating that the possessor of a benefice is dead, have obtained presentation to it from the patrons, and, procuring a clandestine inquisition, have got possession, it is ordered that no inquisition on the alleged voidance of a benefice be taken except in a full chapter of the place, by the rectors and vicars of the place, chaplains and others (in the absence of the rectors and vicars), after a due interval has elapsed, and public proclamation having been made in the benefice of the day and place of such inquisition. Persons holding clandestine inquisitions are to be punished at the will of the diocesan; and anyone seeking to get a benefice by such means is to be for ever excluded from the said benefice. (9) Clerks holding benefices or in holy orders shall not, without licence of the diocesan, be bailiffs or seneschals of laymen, or exercise secular jurisdictions. Offenders are to be punished by the diocesan and fined. (10) Rural Deans are not to deal with matrimonial causes. (11) Chaplains of chapels are to restore all oblations and other things which ought to go to the parish church to the rector or vicar of the same, and until they do so they shall be suspended from the celebration of divine offices. (12) No religious person is to be allowed to act as executor of a testament unless his superior takes care that he may execute faithfully the last will of the deceased, and render an account of his administration, and answer to the ordinary of the place for the losses, if any, which occur through him. (13) Since some have infringed "e ordinance of the Council of Cashel (see Giraldus, Expug. Hib. i, 35), it is

ordered that none hinder or disturb the free making of a testament by anyone. Those who do so ipso facto incur sentence of greater excommunication from which they can be absolved only by the ordinary of the place. (14) Excommunication of all who disturb the peace of the King and Kingdom of England and the Lord of Ireland, or who infringe ecclesiastical liberties, invade ecclesiastical possessions, or lay hands on ecclesiastical goods, and of those who intrude into benefices and unjustly retain them by lay power. (15) Clerics who will enjoy clerical privilege are to be properly tonsured, and offenders against this ordinance are to be severely punished by the ordinary. (16) If any shall indict the archbishop, bishop, or archdeacon, or their officials or ministers in a lay court, because for his faults in matters pertaining to the ecclesiastical court they have suspended or excommunicated him, or put his land under interdict, he is bound ipso facto by sentence of greater excommunication. (17) No one, under pain of greater excommunication, shall compel an ecclesiastic, by taking of his goods or other amercements, to assume a public office which he cannot exercise without violation (offensa) of his order or state or right, or without irregularity. (18) No spiritual office is to be set to farm to anyone, nor shall burial or any sacrament be denied to any for a debt. Offenders to be punished at the will of the diocesan. (19) Laics shall not execute secular judgments or attachments in churches or cemeteries or on the ground (solum) of the church. Penalty, excommunication. (20) Unknown chaplains shall not be permitted to celebrate divine offices in the province unless they produce letters of orders, or give proof of the same by trustworthy witnesses; and a layman coming into the province from remote parts shall not be married until proof in due form is given (in forma juris constiterit) that he is unmarried (solutus fuerit). (21) Anyone who is judicially convicted of falsely charging another with crimes, the consequence of which should be death, exile, mutilation, disinheritance, or forfeiture of the greater part of his goods, shall ipso facto be bound by sentence of greater excommunication. (22) Those who choose rural deans, if the latter are guilty of misconduct in their office, or fail to give satisfaction to the diocesan for perquisites and synodals, shall give satisfaction on their behalf, 'et si per ministrum fuerit mutatus quod ipse respondeat pro assumpto.' (23) On account of certain defects and deceptions in the preaching of quaestors of alms, it is ordered that no quaestor shall be admitted without letters from the archbishop or diocesan, and that the 'decretal words of the epistle written below' shall be inserted [here follow what appear to be the words referred to], and that he shall not be permitted to propose anything except what is lawful and canonical. Priests wittingly permitting quaestors to preach contrary to this ordinance

shall be ipso facto suspended for a year. Quaestors attempting anything contrary thereto are ipso facto excommunicated, and if they persevere for forty days, at the command (significationem) of the bishop they shall be imprisoned until another arrangement has been made about such matters by the diocesan. All letters hitherto granted to such quaestors are recalled, relaxation of the foregoing sentences without absolution of the diocesan being reserved. And chaplains receiving money on that account shall restore threefold to the cathedral churches. (24) There shall be a commemoration of St. Patrick throughout the province on some vacant day every week except in Lent, with regimen of the choir, and the day of his death shall be celebrated as a double festival, as shall also the death days of the patrons of the other cathedrals, viz.:—St. Brigid in Kildare, St. Canice in Ossory, St. Laserian in Leighlin, and St. Eden the Confessor in Ferns; and on the festival of the patron saint in each diocese, the people shall abstain from work, and attend the offices in their parish churches. (25) The festivals of Laurence the Archbishop (double), of the eleven thousand virgins, and of the translation of St. Patrick, shall be observed with nine lessons in the churches throughout the province. (26) Where there is a proper service of the said patrons a copy shall be sent to each cathedral church by the diocesan, that distribution may be made among those churches.

18. Provincial constitutions of Archbishop John (de St. Paul). f. 15. 21 March, 1352. The following constitutions are promulgated by the Archbishop at a council held in Holy Trinity Church with the consent and assent of his suffragans and his and their chapters, and of all others whose consent is required:—(1) The festival of the Conception of B.V.M. is to be celebrated in the province as a double, the service being the same as that for the Nativity of B.V.M., except that the word 'conceptio' is used instead of 'nativitas' throughout; and on the festival day the people are to abstain from labour and attend their parish churches. (2) The festivals of St. Ann on 26 July, of the Translation of St. Thomas, mart., and of St. Katherine, virg. and mart, are to be celebrated as doubles, the people abstaining, as before. Curates, on pain of greater excommunication, if they have not the proper services for these days, are to procure them within six months. Meanwhile, on St. Ann's Day, the service for St. Mary Magdalene is to be used mutatis mutandis. (3) Violaters of sequestrations made by authority of the archbishop or suffragans, and duly proclaimed, ipso facto incur sentence of greater excommunication. (4) Since clandestine marriages are contracted without publication of banns, and often within the prohibited degrees, one or both of the parties being on the bed of sickness, and are celebrated by foolish and

ignorant chaplains, it is ordered that marriages are not to be solemnized except in church and after proclamation of banns during mass on three feast days, Offenders—both priests and contracting parties—ipso facto incur sentence of greater excommunication. (5) Since divorces are sometimes obtained for pretended causes and by means of false witnesses, those who wittingly give or procure such false testimony, and judges who wittingly marry persons who cannot lawfully be joined together, or separate those who are lawfully married, are excommunicated. (6) No. 17 (2) is confirmed, and it is ordained that anyone laying violent hands upon one who has taken sanctuary (even though both be laymen), or causing goods deposited in sanctuary to be removed, is excommunicated. (7) On Good Friday (dies parasceues) rural and secular work shall be abstained from, that the day may be duly observed with fasting and prayer. (8) All persons, clerks and laics, are exhorted, whenever the most Holy Name is pronounced in divine offices, to 'incline mind and head and body very devoutly.' Those who do so shall have ten days' indulgence, namely on all Sundays and double festivals. All ecclesiastical persons present at divine offices are to bow humbly when they say 'Gloria Patri.' (9) The sentences of excommunication contained in no. 17 and these constitutions are to be published during Mass in the parish churches yearly on the first Sunday in Advent, Septuagesima, and the Sunday before the festival of St. Peter ad vincula (1 August) by the priests of the places, and also in Cathedral and Collegiate churches on three solemn feast days by three priests vested in albs, and to be explained in the vulgar tongue. (10) The suffragan bishops are commanded to cause these constitutions to be solemnly published and strictly observed in their dioceses, and to be publicly recited in their episcopal synods every year.

Printed in Wilkins, ii. 746.

19. Taxation of the Diocese of Ossory.

f. 17bis.

1303 × 1306. The taxation is said to be in accordance with the Register of the Curia as found by the Bishop, brother Richard (Ledred), in the Roman Curia, and in the Register of the Clerks near London, and in the Register at St. Paul's Church, London. The list of revenues is as follows:—

(a) Kenlys Deanery: Kenlys (K) £10; Callan, R £57 13s. 4d., V £13 6s. 8d.; Erleyestoun, R (K) £8, V £4; Maillardestoun, R £4 8s. 10\fmathbf{1}d., V 44s. 5\fmathbf{1}d.; Rathgulby (K) 106s. 8d.; Lomok (K) £4; Kilmegen (K) £8; Kelkyrel (K) 46s. 8d.; Kilknedy, R (K) 106s. 8d., V (B) 53s. 4d; Kilkes (given by Bishop Geoffrey (St. Leger) to the economy of the vicars of Kilkenny) 40s.; Stanecarthy (K) 66s. 8d.; Dengylmore Chapel (K) 53s. 4d.; Jeryponte, R (J) £13 6s. 8d., V £4 13s. 4d.; Donimegan Chapel (K) 53s. 4d.;

Kilry (K) 26s. 8d.; Kiltorkan and Athernehynche Chapels (K) 100s.; Kilbecok, Prior of Kenlys' part (K) 40s., Prior of Instyck's part (I) 46s. 8d., V 53s. 4d.; Killach, R (I) 60s., V 40s.; Rossenan, R (I) 44s. 5d., V (I) 22s. 3d.; Achbillyr (Patron David de Ba.) R £4 13s. 4d., V 46s. 8d.; Lesmetag Chapel (K) 13s. 4d.; Ballagh, R (K) 44s. 5d., V 22s. 3d.; Knoctofre, R (K) £4 6s. 8d., V 63s. 4d.; Shorthalestoun Chapel (K) 20s.; Killameri (Prebend, belongs to the Chancellor) £10; Balygerath (K) 33s. 4d.; Court of Erleyestoun Chapel (K) 33s. 4d.; Inesnag (Prebend) £9. Sum £220 10s. (b) Obargoun Deanery: Thomastoun R (I) £4 13s. 4d., V (I) 66s. 8d.; Instyok (I) 60s.; Colmekyll Chapel (I) £7 6s. 8d.; Fossith Chapel (K) nil; Balyfassath, Prior's part (W) 26s. 8d., V 26s. 8d.; Kilcoan, R (I) 20s.; Kilcolyn (W), R 53s. 4d., V 25s. 8d.; Balymalgorme (A), R 35s. 61d., V 27s. 91d.; Trystelmokan, R (A) 53s. 4d., V 26s. 8d.; Lesterglyn, R (Patron Henry de Rupe) 66s. 8d., V 33s. 4d.; Kilmehauok (A) 26s. 8d., V 13s. 4d.; Shenboth, R (A) 26s. 8d., V 13s. 4d; Clon (Prebend) 60s.; Rowyr, R (Patron John de Rupe 'ū ord'), £4, V 40s.; Rosbergoun, R (A) 26s. 8d., V 13s. 4d.; Droundonenni, R (A) £4, V 40s.; Dysert (K) nil. Sum £60 3s. 4d. (e) Ouerk Deanery: Euilhauth (V B) £4; Typerauth (V B) 10s.; Clonammill (Patron Arnaldus Poer) 40s.; Rathkeran (E) £9 9s. 3d. [note: "£4 ut nunc"], V (B) 26s, 8d.; Fydon, R (the prior of St. Katherine's, Waterford, has half, the Vicar half), £9 9s. 3d., V(B) £4 10s. 11d.; Beaulu (Patron Philip de Hyndeberg) £4; Polnescoly Chapel, R (A) 35s. 5d., V 17s. 104d.; Balytarsyn (Patron Wodelok) 26s. 8d.; Castlan, R (I) 40s., V 20s.; Macully (A) £4; Typeryd 20s.; Dunkyth, R (I) £6, V 60s.; Kilmaboy, portion of Master Thomas Cantok prebendary, 60s.; portion of Master Michael de Mora (Patron William Graunt), 49s. 81d., V (B) 49s. 81d.; Karcoman (Patron Richard FitzWilliam) 73s. 4d.; Illyd, R (A) 66s. 8d., V 33s. 4d.; Pollerothan, R (A) 36s. 8d., V 16s. 8d.; Clonmore (B) 40s.; Kilkilhyn 13s. 4d. (d) Kükenny Deancry: St. Mary's, Kilkenny (half belongs to the Dean, half E (?)) 106s. 8d.; St. Patrick's (belongs to the Dean) £10; St. John's with Lochmerethan (J) 53s. 4d.; St. Canice's 50s. Sum £92 6s. 21d. (e) Claragh Deanery: Blauncheuilestoun 53s. 4d.; Droumerthir, R (J) £4, V (J) 40s.; Tillagh (Prebend) Archdeacon's part £13 6s. 8d., Precentor's £13 6s. 8d.; Dungaruan (W), R £12, V 66s. 8d.; Kilmedimok (The Dean; Master James is rector) 16s.; Claragh (J), R £6 13s. 4d., V 66s. 8d.; Kynder (the rector is Nicholas de Leylin; lay patron N. Blauncheuyle; 'bonus decanus canstr' 53s. 4d.; Kylfan (Prebend) £6; Madokestoun ('momit piller (?)'; prebend) 40s.; Fynnel, R (Patron Simon Purcel) 53s. 4d., V

¹ Qu. 'uel ordinarius'-i.e., 'or the ordinary.'

26s. 8d; St. Martin's (B) prebendary's part 46s. 8d., other rector's 43s, 4d.; Balygaueran, the Templars are rectors, V (B) £613s.4d.; Rathcoull (E) £10; Tascohyn (Prebend; the bishop united R and V) R £4, V £4; Kilmelag (J) £4; Tresdynestoun (E) 20s.; Kilbleyn and Boly [words erased] not taxed. Sum £110 6s. (f) Sillelogher Deanery: Balymarf (E) 106s. 8d., V (B) 40s.; Incheolhan (Patron Sir John Vale) £6 13s. 4d.; Ballybor 26s. 8d.; Tilhanbrog (T), R 106s. 8d., V 26s. 8d.; Kiltranyn (K), R £8, V 53s. 4d.; Kilmanagh, with St. Malla's Chapel (Prebend) £10; Kilfetheragh (belongs to the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Bristoll) 26s. 8d.; Drimgelgy (Trauers) 53s. 4d.; Tullachany (belongs to the Abbot of Dowysky) 13s. 4d.; Groweyn (Prebend) 60s.; Dunfert with V (J) £12. Sum 62 6s. 8d. (g) Agthour Deanery: Douenaghmore with Chapel (Patron Fulk FitzWarun) £8; Achmecart (belongs to the Prior of Achmecart) 66s. 8d.; Achenirle (belongs to the Deanery) £6 13s. 4d.; Athechor (Prebend; therefore does not pay procurations) £6 13s. 4d.; Typeridbretaen (J) 40s.; Stafethen (E) 66s. 8d.; Cathyr (I) 30s.; Killyn R (I) 40s., V 40s.: Clontiperid R (E) 40s., V (B), 20s.; Killaych, R (T) 26s. 8d.; Clonmantach £4, V (Lay patron) 20s.; Rathlohan (Lay patron) 40s., V 20s.; Ferkeragh (belongs to the Prior of Ferkeragh) 53s. 4d.; Coulcasshyn (E) £8; Gawlmoy with Chapel (belongs to the Prior of the Hospitallers of Jerusalem) £6 13s. 4d.; Kildrenagh (J) 40s. Sum £68 10s.; (h) Odogh Deanery: Castellodoch (belongs to the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Bristoll), R £6 13s. 4d., V 66s. 8d.; Douenaghmore (T) 66s. 8d.; Rathele de Grangia (belongs to the Abbot of Jeriponte) £6; Glascro (Lay patron) 13s. 4d.; Comyre (Patron doubtful(?)) £13 6s. 8d.; Macully (J), R 44s. 51d., V 22s. 23d.; Mothil (belongs to the monks of Exeter) R 49s., V 20s.; Dyserdoloscan (belongs to the Abbot at Bristol), R 20s., V 6s. Sd.; Dunmore (T) £6, V 40s.; Acheteyr (I) £10, V 66s. 8d.; Rathbacag (Lay patron) R 26s. 8d., V 13s. 4d.; Ardeluth (K), not worth the stipend of a chaplain; Athenach (E) 66s. 8d.; Mayn (Prebend) £6 13s. 4d.; Lamhull (Lay patron) 14s. 4d.; Coulcrahyn R (do.) 53s. 4d., V 26s. 8d.; Kilcormok (I), R 35s. 61d., V 17s. 91d.; Kilcolman (T) £6 13s. 4d.; Deruagh (B) £10; Rosconill (B) 106s. 8d.; Kilmennan (Lay patron) 40s., V 20s.; Kilmeker (T) 66s. 8d., V 33s. 4d. Sum £112 3s. 8d. Sum of the whole £740. (i) Sum of the rents and temporal profits of the Bishop £163 4s. 2d. Tithes of other religious persons: Prior of Kenlys 70s. 7d., Prior of Instyck 18s. 8d., Prior of St. John's, Kilkenny 2s. 81d., Prior of Aghmecart nothing on account of war, Prior of Fertkeragh 11s. 73d. Abbot of Dowysky £4 7s. 6d., Abbot of Jeryponte £4 16s. 8d., Abbess of Kilkilhyn 13s. Sum of goods £145 14s. 9d. Sum of tithe pertaining to the bishop and religious £30 17s. 104d. Sum of taxation for the whole diocese £349 4s. 9\flackdownderse. Aghebo (Lay patron) 'pauci' £25, V(B) £10; Achebon (Lay patron) 'nulli'; Offerkelan (belongs to Dowyskych) 'nulli,' V(B) 'nulli,'; Bordwell and V(B); Rathdowny (Lay patron) and V; Coulkyr (belongs to the canons of Lexslipe); Clonybe; Irel; Donamor (Lay patron) (these six are marked 'pauci'); Scatheryk and V(J); St. Nicholas' Chapel; Kilgaryth; Lysmor; Delgy; Athkypp; Kildermoyth (Lay patron); Balygeuenan (belongs to Achebo); Dyrkallyth (do.) (these nine marked 'nulli'). Sum £14 (sic).

The amount of tithe follows the revenue in each case.

Printed in Carrigan, iv, 363.

Among the papers of the late Rev. James Graves, now in the possession of the Rev. William Carrigan, there is a note of a grant of the Church of Offerkelane to the Abbey of Duiske by Bishop W. Since it is witnessed by John Lupus, Dean of Kilkenny, who was Dean before and after A.D. 1300, W. was evidently William FitzJohn (1303-1317). In the above list Offerkelane is described as impropriate to Duiske. It cannot, therefore, be of earlier date than 1303. But Thomas Cantok is named in it as Prebendary of Kilmaboy. The restoration to him of the temporalities of the See of Emly, 3 September, 1306 (Calendar of Documents, Ireland, 1302-1307, no. 562), therefore gives the latest possible date of the document. It may be added that Cantok died in 1308-9; and further that the Templars, who are mentioned as Rectors of Gowran, were deprived of their benefices in February, 1308.

20. New Taxation of Ossory made after the war with the Scots by Bishop 1318. Richard (Ledred) by command of the King. f. 21.

The revenues are as follows:—(a) Kenlys Deanery: Kenles 100s; Callan, 50 marks, V £8; Erleyestoun £6, V 40s.; Maillardestoun 60s., V nil; Ragulby 40s.; Lomoc 40s.; Kilmegen 100s.; Kilkirl 20s.; Kilknedy 40s., V nil; Stamacarthy 40s., Chapel of Dengylmor 30s.; Jeryponte 100s., V 40s.; Chapel of Donymgan 30s.; Kilry 15s.; Chapels of Derynch and Kiltorcan 40s.; Kilbecok, Prior of Kenlys' part 10s., Prior of Instyck's part 10s.; Killagh 20s., V nil; Rossenan 10s.; Aghebillir 40s., V 20s.; Chapel of Lysmetayg nil 20s. (sic); Ballagh 20s.; Cnoctofr 40s., V nil; Shorthalestoun 6s. 8d.; Balyngeragh 15s.; Chapel of Castrum Erleye 20s.; Insnak 20s.; Killamery £6. Sum of tithe £10 3s. 4d. Sum of procurations 25s. 8d. (b) Obargoun Deancry: Thomastoun 60s., V 30s.; Instyok 30s.; Colmekille 60s.; Balyfassath 10s., V nil; Kylcolme 30s., V 10s.; Lesterglyn 20s.; Rowyr 40s.; Dromdowny 20s. Sum of tithe 31s. Sum of procurations 3s. 101d. (c) Ouerk Deanery: Inylhaght 30s.; Clonymyl 20s.; Fydoun, £6, V 60s.; Beaulu 30s.; Polnescoly 15s., V nil; Balytarsyn 10s.; Castlan 10s.; Mccully 30s.; Dunkyt 60s., V 20s.; Kilmaboy 60s., V nil.; Carcoman 40s.; Kilkylehyn 6s. 8d. Sum of tithe 51s. 2d. Sum of procurations 6s. 43d. (d) Kilkenny Deanery: St. Mary's £4; St. Patrick's £6; St. John's, 40s.; St. Cannice's 30s. Sum of tithe 27s. Sum of procurations 3s. 44d. (e) Claragh Deancry: Blauncheuylestoun 30s.; Dromyrthre 30s., V 10s.; Tylagh, £10:

Dungaruan 100s., V 40s.; Kilmedymok, 6s. 8d.; Claragh, 60s., V 20s.; Kilfan £4; Madokestoun 30s.; Fynel 30s., V nil; St. Martin's, prebendary's part 20s.; Baligaueran, Hospitallers, V 60s.; Rathcoull 100s.; Tascohyn 40s.; Kilmelag 30s.; Tredynstoun 10s. Sum of tithe £4 9s. 8d. Sum of procurations 11s. 21d. (f) Sillelogher Deanery: Balamarf 40s.; Incholhan 40s.; Balyburry 10s.; Tylabrog £4, V 20s.; Kiltranen £4, V 30s.; Kilmanagh £6. Kilfetheragh 20s.; Drumgelgyn with chapel 20s.; Tylahany 1 mark; Groweyn 40s.; Dunfert 60s., V 20s. Sum of tithe 59s. 4d. procurations 7s. 5d. (g) Aghthur Deanery: Donaghmore £4; Amccart 20s.; Aghnylre 40s.; Agthur £4; Tybritbrytayne 10s., V nil; Stafen 20s.; Clontybrit 10s.; V nil; Kyllagh 26s. 8d.; Clomantagh 50s., V 10s.; Rathlohan 20s.; Fertkeragh 20s.; Coulcassyn £4; Galmoy £4. Sum of tithe 54s. 8d. Sum of procurations 6s. 10d. (h) Odogh Deanery: Castrum de Odogh 60s., V 20s.; Donaghmore 66s. 8d.; Rathill i. Grangia £4; Comyr £8; Mccully, R 10s; Mothill 40s., V 10s.; Donmore £6, V 10s.; Aghteyr £4, ∇ 40s.; Rathbeath 10s., ∇ nil; Mayn £4; Culcrahyn 40s.; Kilcolman £6 13s. 4d.; Rosconyl 40s.; Kilmenhan 20s., V nil.; Kilmekar 66s. 8d., V nil. Sum of tithe 109s. 8d. Sum of procurations 13s. 8 d. (1) Aghebo Deanery: Aghebo £4, V nil; Offerlan 100s., V 20s.; Bordwell 40s.; Rathdowny £4; Culkyr 20s.; Donaghmor 20s. Sum of tithe 36s. Sum Sum of procurations of procurations 4s. 6d. Total tithe £33 22d. £4 2s. 113d. (k) Rents and profits of Bishop £53 6s. 8d. Tithe of Prior of Instyok 18s. 8d., of Prior of Fertkeragh 6s. 8d., of Abbot of Dowysky £4 7s. 6d., of Abbot of Jeryponte £4 16s.8d., of Abbess of Kilkylehyn 6s. 8d.; of Prior of Kenlys £4 8s. 8d., of Rector of Callan 5 marks, of Prior of St. John's, Kilkenny 36s., of Prior of Amcart 6s. 8d. Sum of tithe of Bishop and religious £25 11s. 61d. Sum of sums of aforesaid tithes £58 13s. 41d.

In each case the amount of tithe (one-tenth of the revenue) and of procurations (one-eighth of the tithe) is given.

Printed in Carrigan iv. 372, and H M C 234.

The war referred to in the title is, of course, the invasion of Edward Bruce. Bruce was not finally defeated till October, 1318; but the taxation may have been made at an earlier date, and was not improbably connected in some way with the Synod held at Kilkenny in October, 1317. See above, no. 15.

21. List of procurations according to which John (de St. Paul) Archbishop

3 November, 1351. of Dublin received procurations at his visitation of
Ossory.

f. 24.

It is stated that he received double procurations, but remitted to some the fourth part. His predecessor Archbishop Alexander (de Bicknor) also

received double procurations, but made no remission; wherefore he was appealed against for extortion. The list is as follows:—(a) Aghebo Deanery: Offerylan R. 12s., V 6s.; Aghebo V 22s. 8d.; Bordwell R 40d., V 20d.; Rathdowny R 10s. 8d., V 5s. 4d.; Coulkyr R 4s. 8d.; Raharan R 4s. 8d.; Delgy, R 18d.; Donaghmore, R 40d., V 20d.; Skaryk V 20d.; Kildermoy R 4s. 8d.; Chapel of [St.] Nicholas R 4s. 8d. Sum £4 8s. 6d. (b) Aghthour Deancry: Stafen R 3s.; Donaghmor, R 14s. 8d.; Tybritbretayn and Kildrenagh V 4s.; Clontibrit, R 3s., V 184d.; Killagh R 4s. 8d., V 2s. 4d.; Kyllyng and Cayr V 7s. 4d.; Cloumantagh and Kilrusshe R 5s., V 2s. 6d.; Rathloghan R 5s. 104d.; Coulcasshyn R 5s. 8d.; Glassar R 4s. 8d.; Aghryk R and V 14s. 8d.; Ballilorean R 4s. 8d. Sum £4 3s. 7d.1 (e Odogh Deanery: Castrum de Odogh R 8s. 8d., V 4s. 4d.; Glascro R 2s. 8d.; Rathbeagh R 4s.; Deruagh R and V 14s. 8d.; Rosconyll R 8s. 8d.; Lauwyll R (belongs to De Lege Dei)² 4s. 4d.; Attanagh R belongs to St. Thomas's) 5s.; Kilmanan R 40d., V 20d.; Kilcormac V 2s. 8d.; Donaghmor R (belongs to St. Thomas's)2 6s. 8d., V 3s. 4d.3; Kilcolman R (do.)2 6s. 8d.; Coulcrahyn, R. 5s., V 2s. 6d.; Kilmeker R (belongs to St. Thomas's)² 4s. 8d., V 2s. 4d.; Comyr (belongs to St. John's(!))2 6s. 8d.; Dysert V 11s.; Mothill V 9s.; Mecully V 18 d.; Dunmor R (belongs to St. Thomas's) 5s. 8 d., V 2s. 10 d.; Abbot of St. Thomas's, Dublin; Aghteyr V 7s. payable by Prior of Instyok. Sum £6 11s. 3d. (d) Sillelogher Dennery: Kilfetheragh R 4s. 8d.; Donfert V 6s. 8d.; Kiltranyn V 4s. 8d.; Incholhan R 10s. 8d.; Tillaghbrok R 9s. 8d.; Kilmanagh R 1 mark; Dromdelgyn R 8s. 8d.; Balybour R 40d.; Tillagbrok V 4s. 10d. Sum 59s. 10d. (e) Claragh Deancry: Dromerther V 2s. 4d.; Kilmedymok R 40d.; Kynder R 40d.; Fynel, R 4s., V 28.; St. Martin's R 2s.; Balyg' V 32s.; Blauncheuill 1 mark; Dungaruan R 12s. 8d., V 6s. 4d.; Prior of St. John's, Kilkenny, for his churches £31; Claragh V 5s. payable by Prior of St. John's. Sum £7 5s. 8d. (f) Obargoun Deanery: Thomastoun V 4s. 8d.; Dysert R 2s. 8d.; Rosbargoun V 19d.; Kilcolm (R 5s. 4d.), V 2s. 8d.; Lesterlyng, R 5s. 2d., V 2s. 6d.; Kylmehauoc V 184d.; Balymagorme V 8d.; Sheneboth V 16d.; Kilcoan V 2s.; Tristelmohan V 2s.; Rowyr, R 8s. 8d., V 4s. 4d.; Balyfassagh V 2s.; Prior of Instyck, for his churches £31, for synodals 10s.; Tainewyrghlan R \(\frac{1}{2}\) mark. Sum £5 17s. 51d. (g Kenlys Deancry: Jeryponte V 1 mark; Cnoktofr

¹ Originally the conclusion of the list for Aghthour Deanery was "Ferta R 40s. \$\epsilon_i \rightarrow \rightarrow

² Notes in a later hand. ³ In later hand, over erasure.

Another hand corrects to £7 9s. 8d. In a different hand. Alater hand gives £6 3s. 9id.

V 30s. 10d.; Aghbyllre R 40d., V. 20d.; Kilknedy V 2s. 4d.; Kilkeys R 4s.; Iuylhaght R 4s. 8d.; Ballagh V 2s. 6d.; Erleyestoun V 4s.; Maillardestoun V 3s.; Prior of Kenlys for his churches 100s., for synodals 16s. 8d.; Callan R 55s. 8d., V. 28s. 1d.; Chapel of the Villa de Erley 40d. Sum £11 3s. 1d. (h) Ouerk Deancry: Rathpatrik V 14d.; Kiltakan R 40d.; Dunkyt V 3s. 6d.; Illyd V 11d.; Kilmaboy R 2s. 8d., V 2s. 8d.; Balymartyn R 16d.; Polscoul V 11d.; Rathkeran V 20d.; Balytarstyn R 16d.; Polrothan V 2s. 4d.; Clomor R 2s. 8d.; Fydoun V 14s. 6d.; Tybrit R 20d.; Castlan V 14d.; Beauly R 40d.; Tyberaght R and V 3s.; Rosshenan V 8d.; Kilbecok V 16d.; Killagh V 104d.; Balyheth R 20d.; Abbess of Kilkylehyn for her churches 2 marks. Sum £4 12\flackdr. (1) Cathedral and Monasteries: Cathedral £4; Amccart 40s.; Fert 40s.; St. John's, Kilkenny £4; St. Mary's, Kenlys 100s.; St. Columba's, Instyok £4; Kilkylehyn £4. (k) Synodals: Aghebo Deanery 11s. 4d.; Aghthour Deanery Sum £25. 13s. 4d.; Odogh Deanery 17s. 8d.; Sillelogher Deanery 8s. 4d.; Claragh Deanery 8s.; Obargoun Deanery 16s.; Kenlys Deanery 19s. 8d.; Ouerk Deanery 12s. 14d.; Callan R 7s., V 5s. 24d. Sum £5 16s. 54d. (1) Processionals: Deaneries of Aghebo 8d.; Aghthour 141d.; Sillelogher 101d.; Odogh 14d.; Claragh 12d.; Obargoun 15d.; Kenlys 20d.; Ouerk 12d. Sum 8s. 101d. Sum of sums £80 12s. 41d. Many of the above churches are waste, and therefore cannot pay procurations.

At the foot of f. 26^v appears the following:—'Memorandum quod inquiratur in visitacione episcopi de vicariis in ecclesiis religiosorum quas ipsi ocupant quis debet soluere procuraciones vicariorum ibidem ab olim debitas quod titulis poterit apparere.'

Printed in Carrigan, iv. 375.

22. List of benefices in Ossory Diocese belonging to religious persons. 1316 \times c. 1318 (?). f. 27.

(a) The Prior of Kenlys has, in Kenlys Deanery—Kenlys, Erleyestoun, Maillardestoun, Rathgulby, Lomok, Kilmegen, Kilkyrel, Kilknedy, Stamecarthy, Dengilmore Chapel, Donymegan Chapel, Kilry, Kiltorkan Chapel, Athernynche Chapel, third part of Kilbecok, Lesmetag Chapel, Ballagh, Cnoctofr, Shortalestoun, Balygeragh; in Sillelogher Deanery—Kiltranyn; in Odogh Deanery—Ardelouth; (in Obargoun Deanery—Fossith Chapel, Disert). (b) The Prior of St. John's, Kilkenny, has, in Kenlys Deanery—Jeryponte; in Kilkenny Deanery—St. John's with Loghmetheran; in Claragh Deanery—Dromerthir, Claragh, Kilmelag; in Sillelogher Deanery—Dunfert; in Aghthour Deanery—Tibretbretayn, Kildreynagh; in

¹ In later hand,

Odogh Deanery-Mccully, Castelcomer; in Aghbo Deanery-Scatheryk. (c) The Prior of Instyok has, in Kenlys Deanery—second part of Kilbecok, Killagh, Rossenan; in Obargoun Deanery—Thomastoun, Instyok, Colmekyll Chapel, Kilcoan; in Ouerk Deanery-Castlan, Dunkyt; in Agthour Deanery-Cathyr, Killyng and Cayr; in Odogh Deanery-Aghteyr and Kilcormok; in Obargoun Deanery-Lesterglyn, Kiltakan Chapel, Villa Radulphi Chapel, Villa Yago Chapel, Lessentane Chapel, Balyduff Chapel, (d) The Abbess of Kilkilhyn has, in Obargoun Deanery—Balymagorme, Tristelmokan, Kilmehauok, Shenboth, Rosbargoun; in Ouerk Deanery-Rathpatrik, Polnescoly Chapel, Macully, Illyd, Polrothan, Kilkilhyn. (e) The Prior of Athesil has, in Ouerk Deanery—Typeraght. (f) The Prior of Kilmaunan has, in Claragh Deanery—Balygaueran; in Aghour Deanery— Gawlmoy with chapels. (2) The Abbot of St. Thomas's, Dublin, has, in Sillelogher Deanery-Tillanbrog (and vicarage); in Aghour Deanery-Killagh (and vicarage)²; in Odogh Deanery—Douenaghmore (with vicarage)²; Dunmore (with vicarage)2, Kilcolman, Kilmeker (with vicarage)2; in Aghbo Deanery-Coulkyr; in Odogh Deanery-Attenagh. (h) The Abbot of St. Augustine's, Bristoll, has, in Sillelogher Deanery-Kilfetheragh; in Odogh Deanery—Castellum de Odogh, Dysertoloscan. (1) The Abbot of Dowysky has, in Sillelogher Deanery, Tillaghany; in Aghbo Deanery, Offerclan. (K) The Prior of Aghmecart has, in Aghour Deanery-Aghmecart. (1) The Prior of Fertkeragh has, in Aghour Deanery—Fertkeragh (Donachmore). (m) The Abbot of Jeriponte has, in Odogh Deanery-Rathele de Grangia (Rowir, (n) The Canons of Exeter have, in Odogh Deanery— Blanchiuilystoun)2. Mothill. (1) The Prior of St. Katerine's, Waterford, has, in Obargoun Deanery -Balyfassagh, Kilcolyn; in Ouerk Deanery-half of Fydoun; in Claragh Deanery—Dungaruan. (p) A note follows that though the above list was correct at a former time, in 1396 some religious have obtained additional churches, while other churches have been lost to them by negligence. A list of fresh acquisitions is promised; but all that appears is that the Abbot of Jeripont has, in Obargon Deanery-Rowyr; in Claragh Deanery-Blanchuilestoun.

Printed in Carrigan, iv. 391.

The date of this document appears to be fixed by two facts. Claragh is named among the benefices belonging to the Priory of St. John of Kilkenny. It was granted to the prior 2 December, 1315 (Carrigan, iii. 251). Again, the Rower is not included among the churches of Jerpoint Abbey. But on 2 February, 1318, the Crown permitted a grant of that church and Listerlin to be made to the Abbey by Henry de Rupe (Rot. Pat. et Claus. Canc. Hiberniae Cal., 1828, p. 25, no. 178). The note at the end of the list shows that the grant of the Rower was actually made; and it is natural to suppose that it was made in that year. It is difficult to account for the appearance of Listerlin

¹ Perhaps over an erasure.

² Additions by late hand,

among the churches impropriate to Inistioge. If our inference is correct, we may date the present document 1315×1318 . And this date is confirmed by a comparison of no. 22 with nos. 19, 20. The list of impropriate churches coincides closely with that which may be gathered from no. 19: in almost all cases in which they differ it can be shown from existing records that no. 19 is incorrect. Another proof of close relationship between nos. 19, 20, 22 is the fact that both the deaneries and the churches in each deanery are named in the same order in each of the three. The order in the later lists 21, 36, 41 is entirely different.

23. Copy of the first part of no. 1.

f. 28^v.

24. "Capitula Magne Carte."

f. 28v.

A list of the chapters of the charter of which an inspeximus is given in no. 25.

25. Inspeximus and confirmation of a re-issue by Henry III of the Great 11 October, 1297. Charter of Liberties. f. 29.

Granted by Edward I. The charter confirmed is that which was issued 11 February, 1225.

Begins: "Edwardus Dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et dux Aquitannie omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint salutem." Ends: "In cuius rei testimonium has literas fecimus patentes. Teste Edwardo filio nostro, apud Westmonasterio," etc.

Printed in Statutes, Charters 33 (with names of witnesses and date of earlier charter, here omitted).

26. The Statutes of Westminster, the Second.

f. 31.

Easter, 1285. Divided into 52 chapters.

Two sections (cc. 33, 49, of printed text) in French.

Printed in Statutes, i. 71, and in Irish Statutes, i. 104.

27. The Statute "Circumspecte Agatis."

f. 44.

1284 × 1285. Printed in Statutes, i. 101, whence the date is taken.

28. "Novi Articuli."

f. 44[▼].

Lent. 1300. In French.

Printed in Statutes, i. 136, as "Articuli super Cartas." Also in the Liber Niger of Christ Church, Dublin, f. 204.

29. Articuli Cleri.

f. 47^{*}.

14 November, 1316. Dated at York.

Printed in Statutes, i. 171.

The date printed above is that given in our Ms. But the statute is found in a roll of 9 Edward II (1315), where (according to the printed text) the date is given as 24 November.

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[28]

30. Ordinances and Statutes by the Council [and] the King at Dyuelyn 1351. and Kilkenny. ff. 49v-53v, 55.

The parliaments referred to were held at Dyuelyn 17 October, and at Kilkenny 31 October.

In French.

Printed in Irish Statutes, 374.

31. Letter of Edward III to the Sheriff of the Cross of Kilkenny and 3 February, 1360. Seneschal of the Liberty of Kilkenny. f. 55.

States that many English in Ireland (1) have come to be of the condition of Irishmen, being unwilling to submit to the laws and customs hitherto used in the King's Court among the English, or to plead in the said Court, and make raids under the name of 'vadia' and distraints on those against whom they intend to have actions, and hold parliaments, after the manner of the Irish, with other Englishmen concerning such actions, according to the law of the March, as if one of the parties were wholly Irish; and (2) learn and speak the Irish language, and have their children brought up among the Irish, that they may use the Irish language. The King has therefore ordered that the English desist from (1), on pain of forfeiture of life and limbs and all other things that can be forfeited, save only that lords of fees may in their fees make distraints for customs and service due to them, as they used to do aforetime; and he further orders that after the ensuing Nativity of St. John Baptist (24 June) they desist from (2), on pain of loss of English liberty, and that meanwhile they learn the English language. The Sheriff and Seneschal is to have this ordinance publicly proclaimed within his bailiwick.

Ends: "Teste Jacobo le Botiller comite Dormound justiciario nostro apud Dublinia," etc.

Printed in HMC 260.

32. Summary of the ordinance in no. 31.

f. 55.

1360. Printed in HMC 261.

33. Statute of Labourers.

ff. 55, 54, 56.

9 February, 1351. Enacted at a Parliament at Westminster.

In French.

Printed in Statutes i. 311.

34. Statute against absentees.

f. 56^v.

1380. All persons who have lands, rents, benefices, offices, or other possessions in Ireland are to reside there from the ensuing festival of the

Nativity of St. John (24 June), and those who have castles are to put them in repair and have them properly guarded. If for reasonable cause such persons are absent from Ireland after the said festival, they are to leave men in their place to defend the country against the Irish rebels, as need may be. Offenders against this ordinance are to be deprived of two parts of the profits of their lands, rents, offices, and possessions, to be used for the defence of the country by the advice of the Justiciaries and Governors. But in the case of persons in the service of the king, or studying in universities, or absent from reasonable cause, by licence of the king, only the third part of the benefices will be so applied.

In French.

Printed in HMC 261. See also *Irish Statutes* i. 476, 500, by which the date (not here given) is fixed.

35. Letters patent of Oliver (Cantwell), Bishop of Ossory. f. 57. November, 1510. State that William Asbolde, provost of Irishtown (ville nostre Hibernicane), appeared before him in the cathedral church of Ossory, desiring to have certain old and feeble witnesses examined to prove that time out of mind the bishop's subjects and tenants of his town of Irystoun had sold and exchanged merchandise and cut meat in their markets publicly, without contradiction by the sovereign of the town of Kilkenny, and without payment of custom or murage. His petition having been granted, William Herforth, aged 80, deposed, 20 October, to that effect, stating that he had lived in Irishtown (villa Ibernicorum) under bishops Thomas Barre, David Hacket, and John Hedyan, and the present bishop, and that he had seen Maurice Staffarde, John Flemyng, and Thomas Asbold, merchants, and John Monsell and Thomas Kely, fleshers, acting in the manner described. His evidence was confirmed, on the same day, by Maurice Ofogirty-who saw Thomas Kely, David Oclowan, Thady Ohwolaghan, fleshers, and Thomas Asbold and Thomas Langtun, merchants, so acting—Robert Broun and Dermot Obrenane, clerk, aged 60; and on 2 November by Nicholas Whyt, rector of Callame—who deposed to the practice from the time of Bishop David Hackyt—Sir Dermot Oclery, vicar of Callan, Alsona Hunth—who had been servant in the house and court of Bishop Barry with her mother, then his domestic-and Joan Connowe.

A fragment, breaking off at the end of the page. Printed in HMC 264.

36. Taxation of Ossory Diocese.

ff. 57°, 62, 65°.

Late in cent. xv (?). (a) The Dean's Portion: Athnyrle 30 mks., St. Patrick's 30 mks., half of St. Mary's 18 mks. The Precentor's: Tylahtyrim 60 mks.

The Archdenesia's: Kylfan 20 mks. The Chanedlor's: Kyllamery with the Chapel of Colat and Kylldrasse 30 mks. 20d. The Trensurer's: Mayn 24 mks. Prebends: Achure 18 mks.; Villa Madoci 164 mks.; St. Martin's, prebendary's part 12 mks., Taheschohyn 21mks.: Vhtrache 20 mks.; Inysnak 14 mks.; Kylmanath 38 mks.; Chapel of St. Malla, Kylkenny. Economy: Culcassan 30 mks. 5d.; Staphevn 10 mks.; Balahtmarf 30 mks.; Balyfynoun 10½ mks.; [St.] Kannice's 12 mks.; Rahcoul 30 mks.; Chapel of Villa Tresdyn 9 mks.; Rahtkeran, R 5½ mks.; Villa Fabri 6 mks. 3s. 10d.; Chapel of Kyherne 20s.; Ahtennaht 121 mks; Disertoloskan, third part, 6 mks. (b) Acciroo Deniery: Ahebo 108 mks. 8s.: Ofertlan and Enahtrum 20 mks.; Bordwyll 14 mks.; St. Nicholas's 5 mks.; Kyldermoye 8 mks.; Donnahmor 8 mks.; Rahtdouny 39 mks.; Skathryk 8 mks.; Coulkyrre 6 mks. 8s. 4s. (sic): Ratharan 6 mks. (c) Achaur Deanery: Ahtmart 20 mks.; Kathyr 4 mks.; Kyllenne 5 mks.; Clontybryt 8 mks.; Clochmantaht and Kylrusse 12 mks.; Kyldrynah and Tybrytbritan 18 mks.; Kyllahyht 5 mks. 10s.; Rahtlowan 4 mks.; Chapel of Balylorkan 6 mks.; Atheryk, Vicarage 30 mks.; Chapels of Coulgadde, [St.] Nicholas and Villa Philippi—Hospitallers are rectors; Glassare, do.; Fertekyrath 6 mks. (d) Odoc Deancry: Derwaht 40 mks.; Roskeoull 15 mks.; Kymannan 10 mks.; Lawuyll 12 mks.; Donnathmor 10 mks.; Atheert 39½ mks. 9d.; Grangia 18 mks.; Rahtbathaw 10 mks.; Kylcolman 9 mks.; Kylkormoc 9 mks. 4s. 4d.; Kylmekarre 115s. 63d.; Kulcrahyn (?) 10 mks.; Mathteully (?) 9 mks. 9s. 6d.; Mothyll 36 mks.; Arddouthe 20s.; Castrum Odohc 42 mks.; Commyr 44 mks. 8s. 4d.; Glascro 8 mks.; Dunmor 10 mks.; (e) Sylerker Deancry: Incheyholekan 16 mks. 6d.; Dunfert 30 mks.; Drumdelgan 10 mks.; Ballyburre 5 mks.; Ecclesia Combusta 31 mks. 12s.; Kylfecheraht 5 mks.; Kyllahtnebrog 10 mks. 11s. \(\)\d. (\(\mathbf{f}\)) Clarac Deancry: Ballygawran V 24 mks.; St. John's, Kylkenny, 24 mks.; Kylmelag 11 mks.; St. Martin's 8 mks.; Kynder 8 mks. 5d.; Claraht 30 mks.; Villa Blanchevyl 10½ mks.; Drumhyrthyr 6 mks. 10s.; Kylmedymok 13½ mks.; Fynel 8 mks.; Dungaruan 20 mks. (g) Obsercon Deanery: Bafasaht, 4 mks.; Kylcoan 4½ mks.; Kylcolmderyg 6 mks. 8s. 4½d.; Drumdowny 4 mks.; Fosyt and Dysert 100s.; Kilmehawoke 5 mks.; Rosbargun 75s. 63d.; Rowyr 12 mks.; Tristelmochan 11 mks. 8s. 103d.; Schenbohv 11 mks.; Kylestyrglyn 9 mks. 4s. 53d.; Balamalgurme 4 mks.; Kylcolmkylle 18 mks.; Villa Thome 18 mks.; Kyltahan 28s.; Inystvok 10 mks.; Balyduf 8 mks.; Lyssyntan, 16 mks. (h; Cellys Deanery: Kynlys 37 mks.; Lomok 13 mks.; Kylmegena 30 mks.; Villa Malard 11 mks. 8s.; Balaht

¹ This note seems to apply to Atheryk and the three chapels.

11 mks. 2s. 8d.; Villa Erley £19 9s. 10d.; Chapel of Erley 5 mks.; Callan, Tylahtrochan (?), Balycalan, Kyldalo, Kylbride Chapel, Tylahtmayne Chapel, Rahchele Chapel, Dammaht Chapel, and Colaht antiqua R £129 8s. 2d., V £36 8s.; Chapel of Serthastoun 2½ mks.; Athbylyr 23 mks.; Balygeraht 50s.; Chapel of Dengenmor 8 mks.; Staymcarthy 16 mks.; Rakylbyn 9½ mks.; Kylryc 50s. 2d.; Chapel of Dunhunimagan 6 mks.; Kylkesse 4½ mks.; Lyspadryg 4 mks.; Kylkylkych 8 mks. 44d.; Kylbecok, R 10 mks. 8s. 10½d.; Kyllahyht 6 mks. 44d.; Cnoctowyr 21 mks. 5s. 7d.; Kylknedy 12 mks.; Rossenan, 6 mks.; Chapel of Kyltorkan and Derrehy, 16 [mks.] 12d.; Jeriponte 55 mks.; Kyllerthyn 1 mk.; Iuilhachte 15 mks.; Tybryid 4½ mks. 8d.; Dunkette 20 mks.; Casstlan 12 mks.; Clonmor 8 mks.; Polrothan 10 mks. 10s.; Macully 5 mks.; Clounemyle 5 mks. 5s.; Carygcoman 6 mks.; Tyberaht 20s.; Beaulu 16 mks. 3s.; Yllyd 4 mks. 1s.; Balytarsne 40s.; Polscoly 5 mks.; Fydun 29 mks.

Printed in Carrigan, iv. 380.

This document is written in a late fifteenth-century hand, perhaps somewhat earlier than those of nos. 3, 41. But the original from which it was transcribed was probably later than that of no. 41. For it will be shown below that no. 41 is very closely related to no. 21, which we must suppose to have been earlier than either no. 36 or no. 41: and no such relation exists between nos. 36 and 21. Another circumstance pointing to the priority of no. 41 is that in no. 36 the Deaneries of Kells and Iverk, which in all the other lists are distinct from one another, are united under the name of Kells. On the other hand, no. 36 has the church of Carcoman, in agreement with Nos. 19, 20. Cf. notes on nos. 3 and 41.

37. Ordinance made for the Estate of the land of Ireland. f. 58. 25 October, 1357. Printed in Statutes i. 357. See also Irish Statutes i. 408.

38. Treatise on Aqua Vitae.
The first half is printed HMC 254.

f. 62^v.

39. Tract on different kinds of waters.

f. 64^v.

Divided into twelve chapters headed De aqua rubicunda, De aqua penetracia, &c.

40. Proverbs of the Sibyl.

f. 66.

Consists of seven double lines of introduction, 80 rhyming proverbs—of which five are of eight, two of six, and the remainder of four lines each—and seven closing lines, all in French. The prefatory verses state that it was translated from the Latin. Each proverb is accompanied by an appropriate quotation, in Latin, from the Scriptures, Seneca, Cato, St. Jerome, St. Gregory the Great, or other sources. The closing verses give the name of the writer. A note states that the poem was confirmed by authority in France.

Begins: 'Chers amys receiuez de moy

vn beau present qe vous envoy.'

Ends: 'Ore priez pur Bohoun

Qi vous present cest lessoun Qil par vostre orcisoun Veigne a saluacioun.' Propheta: Qui pro aliis orat pro se laborat.

41. Taxation of Deaneries and Churches of Ossory. f. 68.1 Middle of cent. xv (?). (a) Deancries: Aghour 6 mks.; Odogh 10 mks.; Claragh 20 mks.; Kylkeny 10 mks.; Bargown 12 mks.; Overk 12 mks.; Kenllys 30 mks.; Shillekyr 15 mks. (b) Shyllekyr Deancry: Kylferagh 6s. 8d.; Oghteragh 23s. 4d.; Downfert 40s.; Kyltranynn 33s. 4d.; Tulchanbrog 26s. 8d.; Ballybur 6s. 8d.; Inchiowlechann 20s.; Kylmanagh 20s.; Tyllaghrowann, Damagh, and Rathelty 6 mks.; Dromdelgy 13s. 4d.; Tyllaghrowann V 10s.; Ballicalann and Damagh V 20s.; Ballaghmarow 13s. 4d. (c) Overk Deanery: Rathpadryg 9s.; Kylklynn 8s.; Kyltokechann 5s.; Downket 20s.; Kylmaboey 18s.; Illad 5s.; Ballymartynn 4s.; Rathkyerann 22s.; Polsculie 5s.; Ballitarsne 5s.; Polrothann 14s.; Cloynmor 5s.; Fydownn 27s.; Bevle 10s.; Ecclesia alba 5s.; Macully 40d.; Kyllagh 5s.; Kylbecog 5s.; Rossenann 2s.; Ballyee 2s.; Casselann 2s. (d) Bargown Deanery: Thomastoun 33s. 4d.; Discrete 10s.; Instyog 20s.; Clonymry 6s. 8d.; Rowyr 6s. 8d.; Listerlynn 21s. 8d.; Tirstelmoaynn 21s. 8d.; Rosbargoun 15s. 4d.; Seanbogh 15s. 4d.; Ballygurymm 10s.; Kylmokeuog 10s.; Kylcolum (sic) 33s. 4d.; Kylbryd 6s. 8d.; Kylcolum 40d. (e) Kenll Deanery: Church or monastery of Kenff 10 mks.; Callann 10 mks.; Insnake(?) 20s.; Jeriponte 11s.; Cnoktofyr 13s. 4d.; Aghbelyr 6s. 8d.; Beallagh 6s. 8d.; Maleardestown 6s. 8d.; Kyllamry 20s.; Kylkned 11d.; Kylkes 10s. Kylmogeann 10s.; Tulleaghte 6s. 8d.; Erliestun 20s. (f) Claragh Deancry: Dromerhyr 6s. 8d.; Kylmodymog 6s. 8d.; Kendyr 6s 8d.; Fynell 6s. 8d.; St. Martin's R 13s. 4d.; Balligawrann V 20s.; Blanchfeldestoun 10s.; Downgarwann 20s.; Monastery of St. John 13s. 4d.; Claragh 6s. 8d.; Blakrath 6s. 8d.; Teascofynn 8s. 8d.; Tyllagh 20s.; Vennegberg 6s. 8d.; Inyhwe (?) 3s. 4d.; Ratt Cast 6s. 8d. (g) Aghour Deanery: Stafyn R 6s. 8d.; Donaghmor R 20s. 4d.; Tubritbryttayn and Kyldrenagh V 8s.; Clontubyrt R and V 6s. 8d.; Kyllaghe R and V 6s. 8d.; Kyllyng and Cayr V 6s. 8d.; Cloghmantagh and Kylrusse R and V 6s. 8d. (?); Rathloghan R 6s. 8d.; Cowleassynn R 6s. 8d.; Glassar R 6s. 8d.; Eighryk R and V 13s. 4d.;

¹ Near the top of the recto of this leaf (which is only half the usual width) the words 'Nomina herbarum pro potatione' were written. These have been crossed out, and the taxation is written above and below them.

Ballylorkan R 3s. 4d. (h) Odoghe Deanery: Castrum de Odog 13s. 4d.; Glassecro 10s.; Rathbac R 10s.; Rosconnell R 10s.; Dorrac R 10s.; Lawkyll R 40d.; Acetanac R 40d.; Kylmanann 40d.; Kylcormoc 5s.; Donacmor 5s.; Kylcolman 5s.; Colcrafyn 10s.; Kylmeker 5s.; Comer 6s. 8d. (?); Desserad [...]; Motell 13s. 4d.; Mocolly 40d.; Donmor 13s. 4d. Sum £6 12s. [...]d.

Printed in Carrigan, iv. 384.

This taxation is written in a hand which appears to be contemporary with that of no. 3. The date of its original is probably earlier than that of the original of no. 36; for the order in which the churches are named in the Deaneries of Aghour, Odagh, Claragh, and Iverk is almost identical in nos. 21 (dated 1351) and 41, but quite different in no. 36.

42. Letter of Queen Elizabeth to the mayor, sheriff, communities (sic) 21 February, 1583. and citizens of Waterford. f. 69.

Nicholas Walshe, Bishop, and the Archdeacon of Ossory having proceeded against the above, in the Irish Chancery, for synodals and proxies out of the Abbey of Kilkellehin, and sentence having been given, 14 February, 1583, by the Chancellor, Adam (Loftus), in favour of the former, decreeing that the Bishop should recover £4, and the Archdeacon 5s., English money, arrears of synodals and proxies, and that the Bishop should have £5 6s. 8d. Irish, and the Archdeacon 26s. 8d. Irish, yearly, as proxies and synodals from the same, payable at Easter, until by order of that court or by course of common law they should be recovered or annihilated by the defendants, and that the Bishop should have 40s. English for costs, it is now ordered that the said sums of £4 5s. and 40s. should be paid, and the decree fulfilled in all respects.

Ends: "Testibus predilectis et fidelibus consiliariis nostris Adamo Dublinensi Archiepiscopo Hibernie primate ac domino Cancellario nostro regni nostri Hibernie ac Henrico Wallopp milite vice-thesaurario ac thesaurario nostro ad guerram ibidem dominis justiciariis nostris dicti regni nostri Hibernie," &c.

Compare Fiants of Elizabeth, 1269, Morrin, Calendar of Patent Rolls (Ireland), ii. 36.

43. Cantilenae composed by the Bishop of Ossory.

1318-1360. A note at the bottom of f. 70^r states that these songs were composed by the Bishop for the vicars of the Cathedral, their priests and clerks, to be sung on the great festivals "et solatiis," that their mouths be not defiled with theatrical, foul, and secular songs. The vicars are to provide "suitable notes." The songs are sixty in number, and are interspersed with English sentences—e.g. "So do nightyngale synge ful

myrie, Shal y neure for thyn loue lengre karie." The first cantilena is printed here as a specimen:—

CANTILENA DE NATIVITATE DOMINI.

Verbum caro factum est de virgine Maria
Cuius nomen est qui est
Verbum caro factum est
Ab eterno natus est de patris vsia
Verbum caro factum est de virgine Maria

Cuius mater virgo est: Verbum caro factum est Deus humanatus est felix genologia. Verbum, &c.

Salvator noster ipse est: Verbum caro factum est Et judex qui venturus est non sunt controversia Verbum, &c.

Docet fides quod ita est: Verbum caro factum est Redemptor mundi natus est Hec est salutis via Verbum, &c.

Cunctis creatis qui preest: Verbum caro factum est Laus eius nobis adest Letemur mente pia Verbum, &c.

The first lines of all the songs are printed, and eleven are given in full in HMC 242.

The date given above is based on the assumption that "the Bishop" referred to as the author of the songs was Richard Ledred. This has been commonly accepted, and is in every way probable.

44. Memorandum.

f. 77.

20 August, 1416. States that Thomas (Snell), Bishop of Ossory, in his consistory admitted John Prout, vicar of the church of Gerath of Thomastoun, in the presence of Master Thomas Cardiff, Sir John Mydiltoun, rector of Callan, and Thomas Brenan, clerk.

45. Taxation of Ossory.

f. 77.

Cent. xv (?). Kilkenn 20 mks.; Claragh 10 mks.; Bargoun 15 mks. 6s. 8d.; Ouerke 12 mks. 6s. 8d.; Kenlis £20; Aghour 6 mks; Odogh 7 mks. 6s. 8d.; Sillr⁹ £12.

46. Memorandum.

f. 77v.

1388 × 1406. The Chapter of St. Canice's, Kylkenny, granted to Michael (de la Felde) the Dean, a pair of vestments for his use, on condition that if they be lost or alienated the Dean undertakes to pay for them out of his goods 40s.

Printed HMC 262.

Michael de la Felde exchanged the V. of Callan for the Deanery in 1388, and was deprived by the Pope in 1406 (Rot. Pat. et Claus. Canc. Hib. Cal. i. 137, no. 11, Papal Letters vi, 114).

47. Memorandum.

f. 77*.

16 June, 1430. An altercation having arisen between Thomas (Barry), Bishop of Ossory, and Walter Syrlok, Seneschal of the Earl of Ormond, because the bishop's mill was stopped by detention, by the Seneschal and his servants, of the water commonly called "Bakwater," they agreed to abide the decision of six lawful persons. John Marchal, Provost of Kilkenny, Thomas Knarysberge, William Raggyd, William Arther, Thomas Stenyn and William Dwly having been chosen accordingly, decided that a fixed stone near the mill' of the bishop should always appear above the water except in time of flood.

Ends: "Presentibus discretis viris Thoma Englys alias Mownyster Ancelmo Grace, Waltero Wythsyd et domino Nicholao Smych cum multis aliis."

48. Extent of Irestoun, near Kilkenny, part of the temporalities of the 30 August 1398. bishopric of Ossory. f. 77.

The extent was taken at Kylkenny before N. Macclesfelde, vice-treasurer of Ireland, John Lumbard and Thomas Taillour, commissioners of the King for all lands and tenements in the hand of the King in the County of Kylkenny. The jurors were—Hugh Savage, Adam Sprot, William Costard, Robert Ragyde, David K[...]iand (?), Geoffrey Smyth, Henry Deuerous, John Monnethann, Simon Ragyde, John Bygdoun, Richard Langdoun, Richard Purcell, Thomas Cokessoun, John Coterell, Thomas Baly, Henry Serman, and John Pryk, who found that there was a manor near Kylkenny called Oldcourt, part of the temporalities of the bishopric, worth nothing because covered with water; that there was there \(\frac{1}{2}\) carucate of church lands, of which 15 acres, worth 6d. an acre, were cultivated, and the rest waste; that there were two cottages, part of the glebe there, worth 7s. a year; that the rents of the burgage there were worth now £9 a year, and that they used to render to the bishops £11 5s. 1\frac{1}{2}d.; that the tolls there are worth 6s. a year;

¹ Erased, and another word, now illegible, written in its place.

that the issues (?) of the court and hundred are worth 2s. a year; that there are two mills there, worth 40s. a year; and that there is a messuage in the King's hands in which dwells (manet) [...] lenet, and it is worth [...] issues, rent 5s.

Printed in HMC 263.

49. The method of making nectar.

f. 78.

Printed in HMC 256.

50. Memorandum of proceedings at St. Canice's Cathedral, Kil-**May**, 1416. kenny. f. 78.

On 8 May, John Grace appealed from the definitive sentence passed against him in a case of perjury, and that (?) Margaret Joy, in the presence of Walter Stantoun, Arthur (?) Usser, and Thomas Vrant', apparitor. On the 23rd he sought for apostles, but Bishop Thomas (Snell) refused his petition: "wherefore they require me," &c., in the presence of John Barone, [name erased] Grace, and Peter Grace. On the 29th, in the cemetery of the same church, Sir John Okune, Vicar of Royr, appealed ("prouocauit") in the presence of Patrick Obryn, clerk, Cunosagh', and Nicholas, hermit.

51. Memorandum.

f. 78.

1479 × 1487 (?). John (O'Hedian), Bishop of Ossory, decreed in full synod that the Wednesday of the feast of Pentecost was the day of the dedication of the Parish Church of Kylfa[n] (?), and that it was to be observed by the parishioners.

For the date, see note on no. 7.

52. Form of Deed of Release.

f. 78.

53. Taxation of the Deaneries of Ossory.

f. 79.

Middle of cent. xv (?). They are taxed as follows:—Aghur 6 mks., Odogh 7 mks., Clarach 20 mks., Kilkena 10 mks., Barcon 12 mks., Ouerk 12 mks., Kyllis 30 mks., Sylerekyll £10.

The amounts agree with no. 41, except in the case of Odogh.

54. Note.

f. 79.

14 July, 1577. "There is in this book, lxxiii [clerical error for lxxviii?] leaves and a haff leaffe accomptyng this f[...] s(?)." Signed by William Gerrarde, Chancellor.

¹ Some words are apparently omitted.

² This is, no doubt, the usual notarial formula indicating that the notary present was called upon to make a record of the proceedings.

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¹ Culneuarnoge appears in the Book of Survey and Distribution (P. R. O. Ireland) as a townland in the north-east of the parish of Seirkieran. It is not marked in the Down Survey, and seems to have been incorporated with Breaghmore under the Protectorate.

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¹ So the name appears in J. C. Erck's Ecclesiastical Register, 1830, p. 109.

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¹ One of the three early baronies comprised in the present barony of Ida; the others were named Igrin and Ida,

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VI.

A VERY RARE KILKENNY-PRINTED PROCLAMATION, AND WILLIAM SMITH, ITS PRINTER.

By E. R. M'CLINTOCK DIX.

(PLATE IV.)

Read May 25. Ordered for Publication June 24. Published August 25, 1908.

SINCE I have been admitted a Member of the Academy, I have devoted a good deal of time to examining carefully several bundles and boxes of broadsides, pamphlets, etc., all in the Strong Room, but not yet catalogued or placed. My search has been rewarded by finding several items of interest or rarity; and I hope that these may be rendered accessible when the Hon. Librarian has considered how this may best be done. All, or nearly all, the contents of these bundles and boxes bear the stamp of the "Halliday Collection," and many have a catalogue slip attached. They form in themselves a large collection, and contain a great deal of very useful matter. For example, there are very many printed Appeals in House of Lords cases of the eighteenth century. These should be classified and bound, as they are full of interesting and valuable facts and information about Irish and other families, and would be very useful to genealogists for pedigree purposes. I commend them particularly to the notice and consideration of Sir E. T. Bewley, Mr. P. G. Mahony (Cork Herald), Mr. T. G. H. Greene, and other members of the Academy interested in genealogy.

In my researches through these bundles I have sought in the first place for all items of Irish printing, as those that appealed to me most directly; and I found, to my very great pleasure, the very rare, perhaps unique, specimen which I now exhibit and deal with.

It is a Proclamation by the Marquis of Ormonde, printed in Kilkenny, and dated 22nd January, 1648 (O.S.), 1649 (N.S.). Ormonde landed in Cork on Michaelmas Day, 1648; and on the 16th of January following (1649) he concluded a peace with the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics, who had for some time had their headquarters in Kilkenny. By this peace he

consolidated the Royalist interest in Ireland. In the Calendar of State Papers for Ireland, the volume for "1647-60," there is noted at p. 40 that the Marquis of Ormonde issued a Proclamation announcing the conclusion of a peace with the General Assembly, and that all the King's subjects were to take notice thereof. This Proclamation bears date the 17th of January, 164\$, and it is stated there that it was printed at Kilkenny by William Smith. The original is in the Public Record Office, London.

The Proclamation which I found in a bundle in the Strong Room recently, and which I now exhibit, is another Proclamation, by Ormonde, later in date by *five* days, and the purport of it was an intimation that for twenty-one days neither he nor the Commissioners would enter into any particular business. (Plate VI.)

The efforts of Ormonde, which reached, so far, a successful issue, produced results of very short duration. Within eight days after this Proclamation was issued Charles I was beheaded at Whitehall, and the Royalist cause was doomed.

Who William Smith, the printer of this Proclamation, was, or where he came from, does not appear. His name does not occur as printing in Dublin at that period; and it is likely that he was brought over by the Marquis of Ormonde to Ireland from England or abroad. The Proclamation was in a somewhat tattered condition, and I have had it partially repaired. You will observe that it is of small size, and that it could easily have been printed on one of the hand-presses common at that time. It illustrates the size of the presses of the period, and how easily they could be moved from place to place. One is apt to forget this when looking to-day at the huge printing presses in any of our big printing or newspaper offices, and when one sees there machines of the latest form, often weighing some tons, while the presses which were used by our early printers were often small, and would easily fit in a cart. Anyone who has seen pictures of very early printing presses, as, say, that of Caxton, will recognize that.

Thin as the paper is, it is really tougher and made of stronger fibre than much of our modern paper. The ink is still very black and fresh; and though the whole is, perhaps, somewhat rude in execution, yet it is very interesting and well deserving of preservation. The quaint spelling of the time will be noticed also on examination.

William Smith's name first appears as a printer in this Proclamation, and the kindred one in the Public Record Office, London. But he did not end his career as a printer here. His predecessor in Kilkenny was Thomas Bourke, the printer of the Confederate Catholics; but he disappears when their Confederation was broken up or lost its power. And we do not trace

Bourke's name again; but William Smith moved from Kilkenny to Cork, where we find his name in the imprint of a few works, between the years 1657-90. Of course, William Smith is such a common name, it is possible that the William Smith of Cork might have been another person, a son or relative perhaps, or even a stranger, at least in the later years. On the whole, however, and judging also from what I have seen of his printing, I believe him to have been the same individual, or at least that his press was the same. The items so printed by him or at his press in Cork I will mention shortly. They are as follows:—

1657. Agreement of the Associated Ministers. 4to. Copy of which, from my own library, I exhibit here.

- 1660. History of Charles II, by James Davies.
- 1662. A Sermon by the Rev. John Butler.
- 1679. Usher's "Prophecies," in the National Library.
- 1690. Pedigree of Viscount Mountcashel, by Dermot MacCarthy, in the Dublin Municipal Library.

All these are of the greatest rarity. There are a couple of works extant printed in Cork, which may have been from Smith's press; but as I have seen neither of them, I cannot express any opinion. In a volume, however, of "Poems for Church Festivals," by Roger Boyle, issued in 1671, copies of which are to be found in Trinity College, Dublin, and elsewhere, it is distinctly clear that the body of this work was printed by William Smith of Cork, and that only the title-page and one or two of the first leaves were printed in London.¹

I have searched in vain for any trace of Smith's death or will. I do not know whether any Cork parochial register goes back to the seventeenth century; and certainly I do not find his name either amongst the wills of any of the Cork Dioceses or in the Prerogative Court. The early printers, I think, deserve to have more notice taken of them, and any facts about their life should be recorded. The Bibliographical Society of London has been and is still systematically providing for the publication of particulars of the English, Scotch, and Irish booksellers, as well as printers, from the earliest date of printing down to 1667; and if any person searching amongst the early records here comes across any reference to our early printers, I wish they would note such information and communicate it to me.

I should add that there is a reference in Mr. Henry R. Plomer's "Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England,

¹ I am indebted for this fact to Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt, who personally drew my attention to it.

Scotland, and Ireland from 1641 to 1667 "I to William Smith, on p. 168; and Mr. Plomer is the authority for the statement that Smith printed, in Cork, Davies' "History of Charles II."

NOTE.—Since above paper was put in type I have seen at the British Museum "The Moderate Cavalier," 1675, and examined it; and it so resembles William Smith's printing that I judge that it issued from his press.

¹ Published by the Bibliographical Society.



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GENERALL AND GENERALL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND

OR MONDE.

Hereas many waightie affaires concerning the settlement of the Government, & Composure of the Army must take up our tyme, so as we may not attend particular suits and applications, Wee have thought fitt, for easeing suitors from vnnecessary attendance, to let them know that for the space of one & twenty dayes from the date heereof, neither wee, nor the Commissioners authorized by us in pursuance of the Articles of Peace, will enter into the dispatch of any particular bussinesse; not intending heer by to debarr such as may have cause of Complaint for extortions or other missemeanours tending to the breach of the peace, from petitioning vs vpon that subject,

Given at Our Castle of Kilkeny the two and twentyeth of Ianuary 1648.

Printed at Kilkenny by William Smith in the yeare 1648.

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VII.

HUMFREY POWELL, THE FIRST DUBLIN PRINTER.

By E. R. M'CLINTOCK DIX.

(PLATES V.-VIII.)

Read June 22. Ordered for Publication June 24. Published August 25, 1908.

PRINTING was introduced into Ireland first, as far as is known at present, at Dublin by Humfrey Powell, who came over here assisted by a grant from the King (Edward VI) in 1550. Very little is known about him and his work; still more is known than appears in the article on him in the Dictionary of National Biography.

In Mr. E. Gordon Duff's "Century of the English Book Trade," published (in 1905) by the Bibliographical Society of London, Powell is stated to have carried on business in London in the year 1548, when he printed some eight books at a shop "above Holborn Conduit," some dated in that year, and some undated. He probably printed some in 1549.

The sum advanced to him by the King was £20, equivalent to a substantial sum of our present currency. The authority for this statement is an entry in the Acts of the Privy Council, under date July the 18th, 1550, and runs as follows:—"A warrant to to deliver xxli. unto Powell, the Printer, given him by the King's Majestie for setting up in Irelande." (See vol. iii. of the said Acts, p. 84.)

Particulars of nearly all the works which he printed while in London will be found in Mr. Ames' well-known work upon printing in the United Kingdom, in the edition edited by Dibden.

The cause of his going from London to Dublin is not indicated anywhere: but the fact that he received this Royal Grant seems to indicate that he was sent over to be the State printer in Dublin, which was the headquarters of the English Government in Ireland; and the few surviving specimens of his press tend to confirm this conclusion.

All that is extant of his printing here consists of (1) a folio edition of the Book of Common Prayer, bearing date 1551, of which only two copies are extant; one of which is in Trinity College, Dublin, and the other in Emmanuel College, Cambridge; (2) two Proclamations, by the Lord Lieutenant and Council in the one case, and by the Lords Justices and Council in the other, and dated 1561 and 1564 respectively; and, lastly, (3) the "Brefe Declaration of Certein Principall Articles of Religion," of which the unique copy is in Trinity College, Dublin, and is dated 1566.

Both from the date of the Royal Warrant and the size and necessary time and labour required for printing the Book of Common Prayer, it is pretty certain that Powell's printing press was set up here in 1550.

Powell was an original member of the London Company of Stationers, and Mr. Gordon Duff thinks he was most probably a near relation of Thomas Powell, the printer, and a nephew of Berthelet, a leading London printer of the reign of Henry VIII, inasmuch as he came into possession of and used some founts of type which had belonged to Berthelet.

I propose to show you on the screen to-day one or two pages of the Prayer Book, and also of the "Brefe Declaration," as well as copies of the two Proclamations. You will thus be enabled to judge of the character of the types, and to note the initial letters used by Powell in his press-work.

Powell's type seems to have consisted almost entirely of black-letter, of which he had more than one fount; any other type appearing in his extant work seems to have been italic. His initial letters seem to have been of Dutch or German origin, rather Flemish perhaps, and occur again and again in his work, and came into the hands of his immediate successors, for they appear in their work.

It is not unlikely that Powell went backwards and forwards between London and Dublin. His patron, King Edward, died on 6th July, 1553, and was succeeded by Queen Mary, with whom he must also have been in favour, for in the first Charter to the Company of Stationers granted by Queen Mary and King Philip, about the year 1556, Powell's name appears, and it may be that he was back in London at the time. Though thus belonging to the Stationers' Company, no work of his at this period appears in their Register, so ably edited by Mr. Arber; nor is there any extant specimen of his press in Dublin for about ten years (1552-1560, inclusive).

We will now take the first work of his press, the Book of Common Prayer. It is a folio and contains 10 unnumbered leaves with separate signatures, and 140 leaves numbered as folios only, that is, each leaf only is numbered. There are, therefore, in fact 150 leaves in all. It is in black-

^{&#}x27; See Note at end.

letter; but the marginal notes, Latin words, and some words in the rubrics are in italic type. The signatures are A to S4, and the sheets fold in eights. The copy in Trinity College measures $10\frac{3}{8}$ by 7 inches, and that in Emanuel College $11\frac{3}{20}$ by $7\frac{3}{10}$ inches, which shows that the former has been cut down in binding. The Cambridge copy is interleaved.

The first of the Proclamations was against Shane O'Neill. There is no date to this Proclamation; but the date given for it, 1561, is certainly correct, as is proved by a contemporary letter sending a copy of the Proclamation to England, as is recorded in the Calendar of State Papers for Ireland of that year, 1561.

The second Proclamation was against the O'Connors.

There must have been other Proclamations printed for the Government by Powell, and, perhaps, other works.

The originals of these two Proclamations are to be found in the Public Record Office, London; and I have had both of them photographed, and lantern slides made from the photographs.

Besides the copy in the Public Record office there is a fragment of the first Proclamation in the Bodleian Library, containing the heading and forty-three lines. This Proclamation is very long, and is printed in sections, and the whole consists of several sheets attached in one length. There are in it 212 lines, and some of the dates are in italic type.

The second Proclamation is only to be found in the Public Record Office, London, and consists of two sheets attached in one length of 29½ inches by 12½ inches. The *imprint* is in small italics, the rest, some seventy-eight lines in black-letter. The lines in this Proclamation are 8½ inches long.

The "Brefe Declaration" was printed in 1566, and is a small 4to consisting of eight leaves only. There is no pagination. It also contains black-letter and italic type.

Powell's imprint to the Book of Common Prayer is "In the Great Tower by the Crane"; and he styles himself in it the King's Printer. It is possible that Powell's business premises were in or near where Crane Lane is to-day; but this is only a conjecture.

In his imprint to the "Brefe Declaration" he gives his address as "St. Nicholas Street." No address is given in the imprint to the Proclamations.

What became of him is not known. There is no record either of his death or of his having made any will; but when we recollect that the extant Parish Registers of Dublin only begin about the reign of Charles I, it will be seen that it is impossible to look for information about him from such address.

I hope to show on a future occasion two or three specimens of later printing by those who succeeded Powell. NOTE.—After this paper was written I discovered in an old cover or binding, of the early seventeenth century, thirty-four leaves of a copy of the Book of Common Prayer of 1551 above-mentioned. These leaves are being repaired, and further particulars about them will be laid before the Academy during next session. Bishop Reeves stated in a pamphlet, published about 1870, that a third copy of this Prayer Book was in the British Museum; but this is not the case.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES V.-VIII.

- PLATE V.—Facsimile of a page of the Book of Common Prayer, i.e. verso of Fol. CXI. From one of the leaves lately discovered in the Academy.
- PLATE VI.—Beginning (title and 2 paragraphs) and ending (last paragraph, signatures, &c.) of the Proclamation of 1561. Made from a photograph of the original in the Public Record Office, London.
- PLATE VII.—Beginning and ending of the Proclamation of 1564. From a photograph of the original in the Public Record Office, London.
- PLATE VIII.—Two pages of the "Brefe Declaration." From the unique copy in Trinity College, Dublin.

Ind fufftages.

Ebe berlicle.

D Lorde, let thy mercie be Themed bpon bs.

Munimere.

As we dooe put our truft in thee.

Met bs praic.

Vale humblie beseche thee, O father, mercifully to loke be pon our infirmities, and for the glone of the name sake, turne troin by all those early that we most erightmously have beserved: and graunt that in all our troubles we made put our whole trust and considence in thy mercie, and evermore serve thee in purenesse of singing, to thy honour and glone: through our onely mediatour and advocate Jesus Chust our Lorde. Amen.

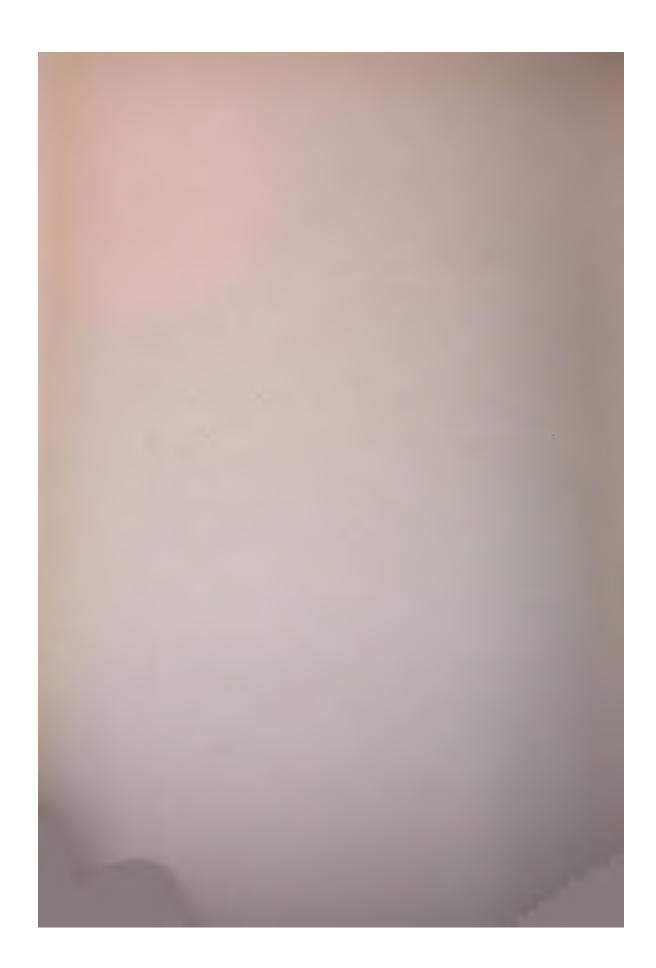
Amith one accorde to make our commune supplications but other, and doors promyle, that when two or three be gathered in thy name thou wilt graunt they requestes: fulfill now, O Lorde, the desires and petitions of thy servametes, as mais be moste expedient for theun, grauntyng be in this worlde knowlage of thy trueth, and in the world to come life enertiallyng. Amen.

Cof the administration of Publike Baptisme. to be bled in the Churche.

C appeareth by auncient writers, that the Sacrament of Baptiline in the old tyme was not commonly ministred but at two times in the pere, at Caster and Whitsontide : at whiche tymes it was openly ministred in the presence of all the congregacion. Whiche custome (now beying growen out of ble) although it cannot for many consideracions be well re-

stored againe, pet it is thought good to folow the same as nere as conventently marche: Whertoge the people are to be admonished, that it is most convenient that Baptisme shuld not be ministred but byon Sondaies and other holy daies, when the most numbre of people maie come together. Is well for that the congregacion there present mare testifie the receiping of them, that be newly Baptisted, into the numbre of Christes Churche, as also because in the Baptisme of Insances, every man present mate be put in temembraunce of his owne profession made to god in his Baptisme. For whiche cause also, it is expedient that Baptisme be ministred in the English tounge. Reverehelesse (if necessite so require) children ought at all tymes to be Baptisco, either at the Churche orels at home.

Publike-



APROCLAMACYON

Set fourth by the Ryght Donozable Grie of Suffer Lord Leutenant Generall of the Queles Maielies Realme of Jerland, with thallent, and confent, of the Pobelytte, and Counfell, of the came Bealme.

h & Quenes moft ercelent maieflie, calling to remebrance the prefompteuos arrigant, fellomos, rebellios, a trayteros, beads of Shan Onell, fince the first coming theo this Realine of Theric of Suffer her highnes loto Leutenat general of this Realine, and how imal effect, her gentil fauozable and mercyful dealyng with him hath wzought in his cankerd a trayteros fromake, hath therfoze thoughe good to open to her good and loueing subjects, the some alwell of her gratius & mercyful proceding with him to reduce him to the acknowleging of the true obedience & dutie of a faythful subject, as also of his arrogat falce trayterous demies, colpiracis, enterpills, a facts to the lubucrting of the binuerfal quict of this Realme, the diffurbance of all her maieftics good and faithfull fubiects, and the great parrell and banger of her matefies Royall effate, Dignitic, & Crowne, of this Realin, contrary to his butte to almightte god and his allegance to his foucraine Laby the Quene.

Fyrit apon an hollying called and a Joshey made by her maichies faid Leutenat, Anno agaynft James mac Connell and his 23 rethern, foren enemps then reputed: Shane byb not only refule to repayee to her maieftes faid Leutenat, but also fallly a traveroully byo with all his force & power of men of warre repayer to James mac Connell confpiring & combraing with him agaynft our late fouerain Lady Quene mary, and therin perfected to fare as he most binaturally ? traiterully Joyned in battell with the laid Jamis (then anope enemy) against the maiestics laid Rintenance the Bodylitte of this Realm then allembled with him, and the laine high out til god geuing the victory he was forced to flight at the retorn of her maiestis said Acutenance humble fute made by Manne for his pardon with his promite + other penly taken to be a true and faithfull

abuse and wealt her elemence to ofte thewed to hem in respecte of the quiet of bir good subjectes tofarue to his dyucliffe pourpole in getting of tyme, the rather to plage and diffrogethem, bir highnes asforced thereo and as the laft remedye bath thought it neffellary to bie the Marp forge of hir fworde and inflice to pourthe his fault and trapterous defertes whoes wicked dyleale will not be cured with any, gentell medelin: And therfore bir highnes both by this hir proclamacion publiff, pronounce aud proclayme Shane Onele to be aryotus and fellonious biffurber of the bupuerfall quiet of this iscaline & the fubicits in the fame, and a faulle permited febilious and parintious confpirer, rebell, and traitor aganft hir Paicfire, and bir Royall Crowne of this Realine, and both allo publythe all others to be traytors in like fort that after knowinge of the proflayminge herof thall ad here buto him or by any means, aide mayntayn, fuctor or fur port hun or any of those that that ad here to hun, and to both admic all hir good and faythfull fubicits that by hys tyrange hath benne forcebly oramne to hom to refule and forfake bom as af rulle, arrogant, and beteftable traytor and to abhere to hir Mateffre and trulye and faythfully to farue hir as they tender hir Mateffre grace and favour, and will outpet the ponishment that in contrarge boyinge bothe by the lawes of thys Realme to fuche offendors belonge and apparteyne.

GOD SAUETHE DUEDE.

D. D. Cancell. Rowland. Baltiglas. Rithard. Montgaret. D.B.of Trymletteffo. James. Aplline. W. fits. Wyllams. Denry. Rabetlif. John. Plonket. Thomas. Culake. Dumftep. Warne.

T. Dunob. & Offerp. Gerrald, Definond. Robart. Dillon John. Trauers. John, Challener.

James. Slane. Christofer. Douthe George, Stanley. Jamis. 2Bath. Fraunces. Darbart. Jenie. Mic. Gozmafton Chriftofer, Donfany, John. Curraughmore Jaques. Wyngfyld. John. Warker. Fraunces. Agard.



MAPROCLAMACYON.

Sett furthe by the Loide Juftice and Counsell at Dublyn the 16. of Auguste, the year of our Loide god 156 + and in the fire years of the reigns of our moost brade sourraigns Lady Queene Sizabeth.

Cibereas Comoche, Callaghe, and Arte mac Brien Oconnoz, Alfaghe mac Bo-Fribe Oconnos, Boggbe Ocog Rowepe and Sete mac morrere Bopil Oconnos, Stete mac Ceig pe nas Dronnos, Calloghe mar Bebowe Dconnos, Bifan Cerg and Connell mac Pattrick Dconnos, Conno; mac Bapers thice fonnes, Weig mac Rabp; mac Owen a the reft of the faibe Cabir mac Owens fonnes, with their followers fecuaunts and abherents, have confured and manyfelled them felues in open Rebellys on agaruit the Queenes matelite, and haue confpited, confederated, and combyned with the proclaymed traytojs, and Rebelles of the Omores, to fubuerte the flate of this the Queenes maiefties Realme and to biftrope ber loyall and good fubiectes of the feme: and to put their malicious and beteftable purpole in effect, bane commptted, and celle not to commete, bumbtes, moft barbaroufe, etuell, a erectable eramples , not onelp of fpopligng, teurng, a buru. page of Dowles Cotne and County, our ale of aplience of Cattell and tiglipage of men women and Chyldeine, bith ftraunge and exquefit maner of tojmentes and bilinembjpnge: Cherloge to barneall the Queenes matefties good fubicetes not onely to efchebe all maner civil bealinge with them, of by any maner of meanes birecte of me Directe open o; couerte, o; colorabelge, to receaue them, bibe them, counfell with them, gene them relyfe, fuccours or appe, with intelligence, armoure, weapon, metate, bypucke, or any other necessacies, by Delpuerpe, fendynge, or purpolely lenupng : But allo whenfoener and wherfoener the faibe offenders of any of them may be fene, founde, of knowner furthwith and indelageoly without any coupne colour of diffimulation, to reife the Marmeand effere bon them, and to purfeme them, plage them, a beftrope them with their betermooft power and endeuer, as moft

o Breachan. Comond Riagh Dreilige. Walaghign mac Epictil . Diven mat Pemond . Bele mat Fames . Cetogery mat Tames. Shane mat Bonnaghe. Ceig mat Donnagh . Donnell o Coffee . wony met Donnoghe. Dermub mac Cutlogbe , Cabill mac Cabill . Robre mac Creban, Cono trephep . Dermub o Spellan . Bypan mac Cabire. Motraghemat Shane. Bonnell Doff. Bonnel Bore. Malmojp Tibonaght. Mahobne Glaffe. Shane mas Je ames . wpllyam Doff a Digney . wpllyamo Gyggan . Conno; mat Apggan . Comoche mat Bypane . Aufagt mat Garrald . Bebbagh mat Cabire . Ronneil o Bipren . Acle o Apnge . Cojloghe Dinte . mpligam o Docep . Bar. taghe Bull. Rowry mac Cuers . Shane o Bjaffeney. Richard mac falpatrick . Connos o Deueryn . Courses e Laughnan . welleam mat Cabill . Worogbe mat Care. Cerman a Bojhe . Roppe Ball o Gennan . Shane mat Teig, wpllpam a Dun. Bipan Roo mat Teig. Cabill Deonnoj. Sant mat Cartan . Comonbe a Dewryn . Conno; a Doren. Comocke a Belen, Koffe a Morghan. Bhalpe mac Bonnell . Domoghe a Beueren . Cabill mac Berpett . Bojraghe mac Garralb . Comonde Dg mac Bopler . wellpam ne Bopne . wonep mac Bipnam . Gat. cald a Moggban. Songlaghe mat Pennold. Bonnell Boge a Bewepn, Bewghe mat Gelwarde. Bowepe mac Donnaghe a Bun . Shane mac Bonagh a Bun . Teig Bope mac Bjallell . Pers mac Bonnell . Pemonde a gupn ? Pemonde Mopile Dirarrall . Shane lea Occonell . Iste mac Teig . Bipan mac Teig Dg Dcconnog: Marryet Ingblea . wonep a Dewepn. Shane mac Datbard . wonep a kyll . Donnell Boff mat Manus : Wojghe mac Gatt. Connot Ogg. Bonnell o Betmebe. Shane o Betmbe. Comocke o Banip. Comocke mat Lea. Baup mae Gulberte. Shane Lea . and Donnell Wople .

ODD Saue the Queene.

De Articles.

usyllyope of Bome, 3 bo were word of God, be hath no blirped power, contrary to the Se that by the Scriptures more aucthoritie then other 28pfho offeces : ad therfore the power which he now chalengeth, that is, to be the inpreme beabof the vinnerfal Church pes hatte in their Prominces and Di of Chiff, and fo to be aboue all Em peronne, Ryniges and Drinces, is an ine Church: and therfore is for most cipture and worde of God, and con trary to the example of the primat Dreouer, touchynge th arknoveledg and confed unt causes taken awaye and aboly hed within this izealue

Ehe seuenth Article.

The Booke.

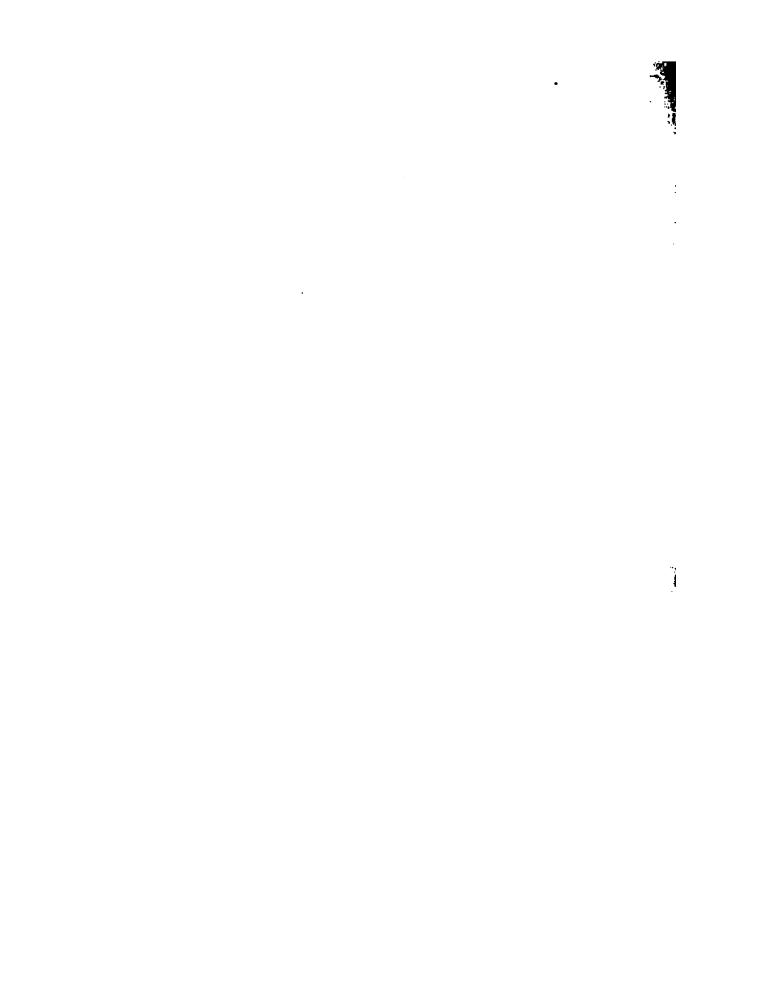
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and coffest, that the boke of comon prayer and advant of comon prayer and advant by the aucthorite of Parlyament, is agreable to the Scipture, and that it is Catholyte, Apostolyte, e most of the abuauntynge of Gods gloppe, ethe editings of Gods people, both for the diagram and fourne of mistration concepted in the same of mistration concepted in the same of mistration concepted in the same.

Che bitt. Article.

ministratio of 23 aptisme, ther is neither exoscisme, ther is neither exoscisme, advis, Saile, Spittik, or now bled: for they were of size peres abused a celemed necessary, where they pertame unit of pinds a week have better associated by the sistem will be to the instruction of our Saurour Childe.

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usyllyope of Rome, 3 00 arthnovoledg and confege that by the Scriptures ? word of God, he bath no more aucthoritie then other 28ptho. Dreoner, touchynge the blirped power, contrary to the Sc ves haue in their Proninces and Di offeces: ad therfore the power which of Chuft, and fo to be aboue all Em perones, Appiges and Princes, is an cipture and worde of God, and con ne Chuch: and therfore is for most he now thalengeth, that is, to be th trary to the example of the pumat uff cautes taken awaye and aboly supreme headof the vinnerial Churc hed within this Realuc.

The security Article.

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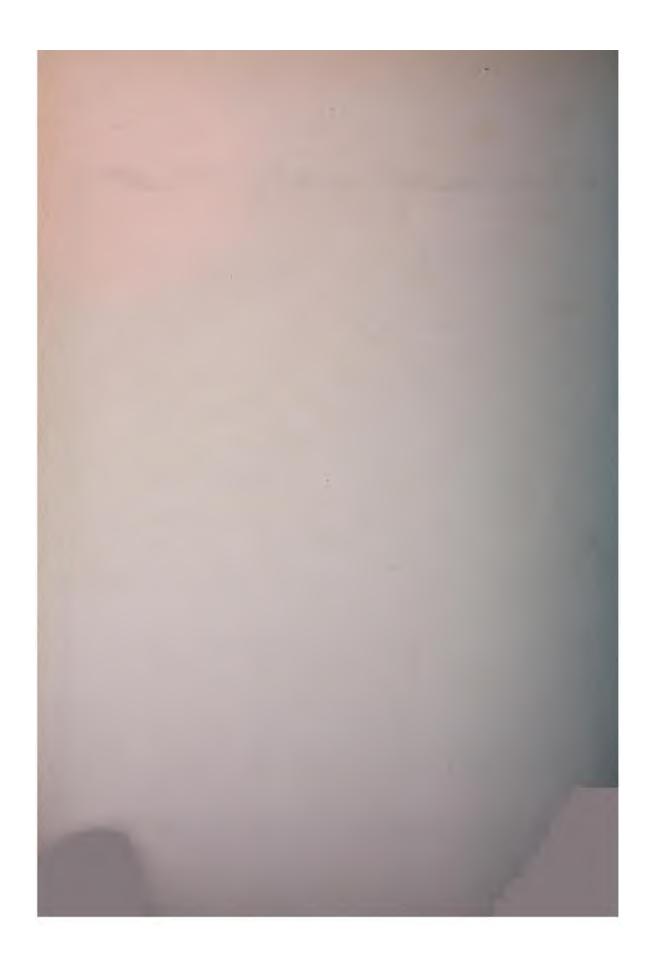
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Che bitt. Article.

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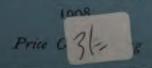
HOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP

ES OF THE RING-FORTS REMAINING
IN EASTERN CLARE
(THE NEWMARKET GROUP)



DUBLIN

HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO., Ltd.



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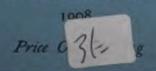
THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP

YPES OF THE RING-FORTS REMAINING
IN EASTERN CLARE
(THE NEWMARKET GROUP)



DUBLIN

HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO., LTD.
LONDON: WILLIAMS & NORGATE



remarkable fort of Cahernacalla supports the view that the types did not, as has been suggested, arise purely from the nature of the ground. The occurrence of square forts, both of earth and stone, both in the Norman and purely Irish territory, again bears against the narrower views relating to this type. Lastly, the very curious caher of Ballydonohan stands alone to our present knowledge, and supplies several interesting questions which we hope the publication of these notes may help to get answered.

NEWMARKET GROUP, BUNRATTY LOWER.

The ancient Tradraige or Tradree is well marked territory, meared by the confluence of the rivers Shannon and Fergus, and the little streams of the Rine, or Gissagh, at Lattoon, and the Owennagarney at Sixmilebridge. Of the tribe that gave the district its name legends varied; one derived it from an early druid Trad; at one time the tribe regarded itself and the neighbouring Ui Cormaic as Eoghanachts, and a local abbot appealed on these grounds to Felimy, King of Cashel (who died about 845), asking his aid from the oppression of the Corcavaskin, then a most powerful race, whose territory covered all south-western Clare beyond the Fergus. The Ui Neill Buidhe, of the Tradraighe, on the other hand, claimed descent from Aedh Caemh, a Dalcassian King of Cashel (circa 570), and ancestor of the O'Briens. These contradictions suggest to our minds attempts to secure allies by asserting affiliation with different races powerful enough to support their alleged kinsmen. The Tradraighe must have suffered severely during Brian's wars with the Norsemen, as he made their country the area of his guerilla warfare. The Ui Neill subsisted to Norman times; but this latter race got possession of the land, first under Robert de Musegros in about 1240, when the castles of Clare and Bunratty were built, and then in 1275 by Thomas de Clare and his sons down to 1318; it seems to have formed the mensal land of the O'Brien chiefs, who eventually, as earls of Thomond, made Bunratty Castle their chief residence till 1642.

MOGHANE (42). It is strange that down to 1893 this enormous fort remained undescribed, and any allusions to it are grossly inaccurate. It is shown even in one Elizabethan map as Cahermoghna. The Ordnance Survey made a fine and most intelligent plan in 1839; this figured conspicuously in all their maps, even in the half-inch "key map." A large scale copy was in the hands of O'Donovan and O'Curry, but they never described the place. Later antiquaries called it an earth-work, as did Drs. Graves and Todd when

¹ See " Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," vol. iii., p. 262.

describing the gold ornaments found near it in 1854; so did Mr. R. O'Brien in his notes on Dyneley's tour; while some, with disregard for the plain facts of the case, identified it with the earth-works with which the Danes, and later on Sir Thomas de Clare, fenced Tradree "from the river to the sea" (Fergus Estuary). Mr. W. Wakeman in 1900 described it as "two large raths," in a Guide of the Royal Society of Antiquaries. The only antiquaries who condescended to examine it were John Windele and his friend Mr. W. Hackett about 1856; but Windele's notes in the Library of this Academy are as yet hardly known. They traversed a section of the outer wall, being at times unable to establish its artificial character (a strange confession), though its piled heaps and ditch are unmistakably artificial all round their circuit. Windele notes that "Moghane" means "place of smothering," and suggests that this was from brutalities practised by its ancient occupants. Of course it is the name of the townland, not of the fort, and refers to the marshy lowlands. The peasantry did not recognize the great lines as being a fort,2 but said the castle was built out of the ruins; they knew that the small ring-walls were forts: these had been recently repaired for sheep-pens by an O'Brien, but were newly planted at the date of Windele's account, though, apparently, the trees were few, small, and sickly. He adds: "It may be hoped that it [the plantation] may not thrive until a delving may be made by the souterrains." Hackett noted the wall 6 feet high, but found no facings; the ditch is given as 8 to 12 feet wide; and there are only two out of the three main rings mentioned. Elks' horns and antlers were found near it; but Windele's inquiries as to the gold-find were evidently frustrated by the jealous suspicions of the natives of Newmarket. Strange to say, this feeling had not quite died out in our time, and I had no little difficulty in establishing the actual scene of the "find," Windele then visited William Halpin, who had (so Windele thought) sold some ornaments to Dr. Todd and Dr. Neligan; but he was told little, and deliberately misled as to the site "at the foot of the hill where it is precipitous" (i.e. to the north-west, far from the railway).2 No doubt, fear lest the O'Briens of Dromoland should renew their claims for more than the one or two bracelets that came into their possession was long an obsession on all the discoverers of the gold, and led not only to silence, but to misleading statements.

In fact, this discovery—one of the most sensational in Irish archæology—took place in making a cutting for the railway then in course of construction.

3 See Windele's Topographical Manuscript, Appendix, vol. i., p. 73, &c.

¹I noticed in Waterford, near Cappagh, that a heap or sheet of stones on a mountain side was called "Meihan," which is the phonetic of the local name of the Clare hill.

As in Windele's time so in 1887, "the great heaps of stones" were not recognized as a fort.

In March, 1854, the gang of labourers digging near an old hawthorn bush, a short distance to the south of the railway bridge, in Moghaun north, on the west side of the line, and opposite the lough, undermined a sort of cist. A stone fell disclosing a sort of box made of rough stones, and a mass of gold ornaments: armlets with dilated or cup-ends, thin gold "gorgets," and many fibule; a few ingots of gold were also found. The men, after a general scramble for the prize, though not sure of its value—for some thought the objects were of brass-proceeded to dispose of the "fairy gold" for what it might fetch. The find proved to be a mass of beautiful fibulæ, bracelets, and lesser ornaments. Two bracelets passed to the O'Briens, most of the rest came into the hands of a local shopkeeper, some, it is said, for oatmeal and other supplies; some fell into the hands of goldsmiths in Limerick; many were cut up and melted. Dr. Todd and Lord Talbot de Malahide exhibited a very large and interesting number of specimens at the meeting of the Archæological Institute, in Cambridge, that same year in August; while Dr. Todd reported to this Academy on June 26th, 1854,3 that at least £3000 worth of ornaments were found in a small mound, over a little stone chamber a quarter of a mile from one of the largest earthen forts in Ireland. Windele records it as "torques, fibule, armlets, ring-money of various sizes and patterns, some of which has been melted down by barbaric silversmiths, more passed into private hands."

Present-day tradition at Newmarket only remembers "nuggets," and says that no one throve who took the fairy gold, "though one man was the better of it for some time."

Members of this Academy are well acquainted with the objects and models of fibule, acquired for our collection, and still to be seen in the Museum, an expert description of which is greatly to be desired.

¹ The evidence of the local people, and some of the older inhabitants in Quin and elsewhere, was corroborated unknowingly by my late sister, Mrs. Stacpoole, showing me where Mr. John Hill, formerly county surveyor, had shown her the place of the find. It exactly tallied with my other information.

² Journal of same, 1854, No. 41, p. 181. Dr. Todd's communication to the Institute is there abstracted.

³ See "Catalogue of Gold Antiquities," pp. 31-33. The Journal of the Kilkenny Society (Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland), vol. ii., p. 287, has a short note telling (wrongly) how the find was made on Mr. Blood's property of Ballykilty; and tells how a man grasped up ornaments, "the full of his hat," and ran to Newmarket, where he sold them for £30; they were afterwards valued in Limerick for £400. In vol. iii., p. 181, Rev. James Graves describes the event more accurately: in tidying the new railway bank a stone fell out displaying a rude cist covered by a slab, and a number of beautiful ornaments and some ingots of gold were found. Mr. Graves saw some sold for £500. Mr. F. Barnes, c.e., contractor of the Limerick and Ennis Railway, was his informant, and locates it in Mooghaun, near the lake, but at a spot never covered by the water. The cist measured 15 inches to 24 inches square.

⁴ Query ingots; see last note.

Moghane Fort.—Save the name "Cahermoghna" on a map of about 1590, no name is discoverable for this great fortress or "walled town." One may suspect it to be the "Caherkine," as being apparently included in that townland at the time of Petty's Surveys in 1655. Cathyrnachyne is mentioned with de Clare's other lands in the neighbourhood at his death in 1287, while Moghane does not appear. The name "Cahermucna" occurs in documents down to at least 1720. Caherkine is now confined to the adjoining townland: none of its forts monopolize its name; another townland with a caher and sonterrain (we shall see) is named Caherscooby.

The difficulties which prevented Hackett and Windele from making satisfactory notes on the ruin, had greatly increased even at the time of my earlier visits in 1887 and 1892, and still more by the present date. Parts of the wall can only be examined by creeping through thickets of sloe and other bushes; and the luxuriant bracken, if a less painful, is still an even more concealing, obstacle to our labours. A complete examination and measurement of each ring occupied several hours on each of six days, so I hope the resultant notes may be found as complete as they can be made without excavations.



1, cairn; 2, inner wall; 3, middle wall; 3*, collapsed wall; 4, south caher; 5, west caher; 6, rock-cut gate; 7, outer wall; 8, castle.

(The view is taken from the west, trees being omitted to show reach of wall at "6.")

The fort girds, with three walls, a long, low ridge, with a beautiful outlook to the Shannon, the Fergus, and across the chain of lakes, and the plains of central Clare, to the hills of Aughty, Burren, Callan, and Slieve Bernagh. The hill has steep slopes to the east and west, with low crags in some places; the walls do not follow the contours of the ridge, as some have fancied; but the outer one dips in bold curves down each side, and the middle two are approximately regular and equidistant from each other. These main walls on our first visits seemed to be shapeless heaps of stone, and so were supposed by myself and others to be mere piled mounds, such as are found in ancient British and foreign defences; but systematic examination has yielded, in many points in the outer, and a few in the inner and second

lines, full evidence that the ramparts had regularly built faces with slabfilling of various sizes, usually large. The most curious phenomenon is the systematic overthrow, unlike even half-levelled ring-forts elsewhere, where we simply find materials removed, not overturned and left in heaps for their full length. The enormous masses, poured like avalanches from the second and outer walls down the steeper slopes, are very striking, especially to the west and east of the second wall, and to the south-west and north-east of the outer. Only towards the east and behind the gate-lodge has the material of the outer wall been removed to any considerable extent; but the ditch, foundation, and slight outer mound are traceable, save down the bare crag near the small ring-wall, and where buried in its own fallen masses. this elaborate destruction took place we have of course no means of knowing, save that it evidently occurred before the building of the two small ringwalls in the outer and middle lines. It is extremely unlikely that this great enclosure can date after the Dalcassian conquest, circa A.D. 380-400, or be the work of the feeble Tradraighe. If the ornaments found at the railway were plunder of this fort or "town," experts date it in the later bronze age; but this would far outstate our evidence, and we have never heard of any find within the walls, or seen any object in the spots upturned by rabbits or fallen trees, save two shapeless pieces of iron, of any possible age or use, in the outer garth. What was the height of the wall we have no means of discovering; but where it has been spread out to at least three times its proper breadth, it is 6 feet high or even more. Walls of 12 feet to 16 feet, and even 18 feet high, are found in more perfect cahers, and here the walls may have been quite as lofty. Nowhere have traces of more than one section of the walls or foundations of steps been disclosed. Of the foundations of gateways more remains to be said.

First, as to the general dimensions, we must amend our former "round numbers," though, owing to the spreading of the stones and the practical impossibility of getting any cross-measurements between the existing faces, more than general accuracy is unattainable. The whole enclosure measures north and south 1512 feet, the second 705 feet (657 feet between the walls: this internal measurement has been given by mistake for the over-all dimension as 650 feet in our former description); the inmost is 363 feet over all north and south. The dimensions east and west are—the whole (across the middle) 1118 feet, the second 664 feet, and the inmost 386 feet.

The inner wall is 20 feet thick to the north, and 22 feet in several other places where facing blocks remain. There are gaps to the west and E.N.E., the former with set slabs; the garth is 312 feet across, north and south, and 342 feet east and west. Traverses run from the highest point (where is an

ordnance survey cairn of some size, and 5 feet high) down to the gaps. A heap of small sandstone pebbles lies near the eastern gap, and outside it we find a thin walled "half moon" enclosure to the north of the gap, very probably a cattle pen, whatever be its age, as the pebble layer may be a cooking-place.

The second or middle wall is built of good blocks (3 feet and 4 feet square, and 18 inches to 2 feet thick), especially to the south-east and east; it is 17 feet 6 inches thick at two measurable points. There are gaps to the north and E.N.E.; the former, like the western gap of the inner ring, has traces of lining slabs, leaving a passage 8 feet wide between them: these two named gaps, and the western gate, partly rock-cut in the outer wall, are the only certain gateways of the fort; the gaps without slabs may (or may not) represent others. There is no limit of number for gates in such forts: the hill fort of Turlough Hill has eight slab-lined gates, and the cashel of Inismurray had at least four, if not five opes. Probabilities favour one of the gaps in the northern face of the outer wall as another gate: it is impossible to locate any to the south; indeed the unbroken line of the fosse precludes any, save on the crags. The opes of the gateway may have had built piers, and must have been several feet more narrow than the passage, but no foundation is discoverable, and no lintel blocks remain in the debris. At the north-east gaps the space between the two inner rings is 124 feet: a traverse crossed this space at 45 feet to the north of the gaps. The second ring is greatly defaced to the south, where it lies 132 feet from the inner line: it was probably removed to rebuild the little ring-wall built over its lines at this point. As rebuilt, this structure shows little of the old base, and that only about 4 feet high, and the new wall lies 5 feet inside the foundation blocks, where they run through the main second line. The western segment of the main rampart has fallen or been thrown down a steep slope which it entirely covers for over 60 feet, making an impressive scene of ruin, the most prominent feature in the fort, visible even from the Edenvale ridge 51 miles away; smaller "slides," but hidden by the trees, took place at the north-eastern curve of the outer wall, and the eastern edge of the middle line. I may here correct a mistake formerly made, that the outer wall has made the great slip of debris to the east. A modern wall built upon its ruins at this point ran along the brow to the second wall at the north-east gap, and along its foundations above the slip. Following its course, one is easily misled as to which wall crowned the slope at this mass of ruin.

The great outer rampart is some 4400 feet in circuit; so overgrown, and

¹ There is a view of a portion in Journal Roy. Soc. Antiquaries (Ireland), vol. xxiii., p. 283.

plunging down such rough and dangerous slopes, it is little wonder that hardly anyone had followed its course; only the accident of unbounded leisure, while staying near the fort, encouraged me to do this. Commencing at the northeastern gap1 we go eastward down the steep slope; the masonry is widely spread, covering entirely the outer ditch. After its bold plunge down the slope it runs southward (always on a level, and near the contour line of 200 fect above the sea), along the face of the hill. Most of the stones have been removed, probably for the demesne wall. Here we find another "half-moon" annexe outside the wall. The removal of the material gives us measurable foundations of the wall, and leaves the fosse outside it clear for most of this segment, and it is remarkable that we find the fosse cut even in the crag, save at one precipitous slope, and on the southern brow near the path. varies from 15 feet to 17 feet along the east, usually the last, which dimension recurs at other points, save in the deep hollow, where the facing-stones are only 12 feet apart; the fosse is 15 feet to 18 feet wide, 3 feet or 4 feet deep, and usually retains its outer mound. The outer face of three or four courses of rough masonry remains at several points in the thickets along the southwestern curve. At this point (240 feet to 300 feet from the path up the crag from the stile) there has been another fall of the wall, burying the fosse. The wall runs down another steep slope (from 360 feet to 406 feet) into a natural amphitheatre looking westward. Above this point lies the great collapse of the second wall. The outer has unusually large facing blocks (3 feet 6 inches square and 18 inches thick, some 4 feet long, others 2 feet thick), unlike the flat slabs and neat small blocks in other parts. At about 780 feet from the path are apparent traces of a gateway; a well-marked hollow path leads to an ope between a rock-scarp and a built pier, with two ascending "ramps" inside; the northern 3 feet wide, and partly cut into the crag, Beyond this, up to the outer ring-wall, the main line has vanished from the naked crag. Round the north from the ring-wall to the north-east gap, the heaped wall, fosse, and outer mound are usually well preserved. At the northern gap, the mound and fosse are each 12 feet wide. A traverse runs southward to the middle wall at 30 feet from the gap; farther eastward is a small hut enclosure, and up the slope near the middle line and the traverse we find two rings of thin wall, 50 to 52 feet across, evidently cattle bawns, and some hut rings.

Westward from these is the little outer ring-wall, or caher, 100 feet in diameter; the lower part is ancient, 3 feet or 4 feet high, 7 feet 4 inches thick, with a batter of 1 in 7 of good, slightly-coursed masonry, with slab filling.

¹ The two north gaps have gangways. I have long questioned the age of these features, but the gangways left in the rock-cut fosses of Doon Fort, near Kilfenora, and Lisduff near Kilkee, show that in at least some instances they are contemporaneous with the forts themselves.

Moghane Fort stands much apart from its congeners in more ways than its great size. Its shallow fosse, outside the strong rampart, recalls those of Staigue Fort and other cahers in Cork and Kerry; the slab facings recall the great and probably early ring on the top of Torlough Hill, and the caher of Ballydonohane. Such slab-lining occurs in other forts, notably at Ballyganner and Carran in Burren, and has also been recorded in certain dry-stone enclosures among the Berbers in North Africa. We hope the elaborateness of our description will be forgiven as an attempt to put before students this riddle of the past, whose origin, purpose, and builders seem lost in the night of the centuries.

Languagh Caher¹ (42).—When we examined this remarkable fort in 1892, it was greatly overgrown, and surrounded by thorn-bushes and hazels. The outer part to the west, and a portion of the annexe, have since been cleared; this, and the perhaps less happy removal of a mass of stone, have revealed the foundations of a gateway, and some portions of the facing of the inner caher. The long enclosure walls to the south have, however, entirely vanished. There were abundant traces in heaps of stones when I first saw them to justify the plan of 1839. They enclosed a long, hollow field, perhaps the green or "faitche" of the fort.

As it has been described in these pages and elsewhere, we will merely take the opportunity of adding the results of more favoured examinations. The central wall has the unusual slope or batter of 1 in 2½ to the west, where it has been very carefully built into the masonry-like layers of natural crags at the low cliff. It is 6 feet 7 inches to 7 feet 3 inches thick, with small filling and very good facing, showing signs of hammer-work, to let wedge-like angles fit into the layers above them-an unusual feature, though traces of hammerwork are visible in the great cahers along the southern edge of Burren, in this county. The wall is much broken down to the south, but some of its fine masonry can be sketched even there. The inner face is nearly destroyed, and there are no remains of hut enclosures or traverses. west the wall is from 61 feet to 8 feet thick, of beautifully fitted blocks, and strongly sloped batter, about 1 in 21. What purpose this served in a wall of large, good masonry is hard to see. It is comprehensible at Cahermurphy in south-western Clare, where the stones are small, thin shale blocks, and a considerable alope is absolutely necessary for stability. The gateway now

redraal Roy. Soc. of Antiq. (Ireland), vol. xxiii., pp. 281
vol. vi., p. 440; Trans. R. I. Acad., vol. xxxi., p. 648;

disclosed faces the S.S.E. The west pier is of four stones, the east of three, the passage being 4 feet 7 inches wide, and the wall at this point far thicker than elsewhere, being 10 feet through. The wall of the annexe is C-shaped in plan, looping against the central ring at the cliff; all is so defaced and rebuilt as to be indescribable. The foundations crossed by it are now removed, but were clearly traceable in 1898, showing that it was a late curtailment of the fort, built over the lines of the large annexe, which girt the whole summit of the knoll. This latter is now well shown since the field was cleared; long heaps of debris of fairly large stones remain. The new plan of Langough, in the Survey Maps of 1900, is lamentably inferior to that in 1839; evidently the former was by some one who understood the remains thoroughly, as in the case of Moghane Fort.

To the east of Langough is a small ring-wall 65 feet to 70 feet across the garth, which is now of level sward, though in tillage in 1893. The foundation blocks show that the wall was 7 feet thick and had two faces: some of the inner face remains imbedded in a fence; the rest is a mere ring of filling. Southward, on the edge of the marshes, is a green mound surrounded by a shallow fosse 6 feet wide, with a slight outer ring round the downward slope. This mound is about 5 feet high and oval, 50 feet to 63 feet across the top and 90 feet within the fosse. It is reputed to contain cellars and to be dangerously infested by the "dawnshee folk." The fairies are generally believed to select earthworks in preference to ring-walls in this district, judging by the many raths and few cahers reputedly haunted. So far back as the middle of the fourteenth century Macgrath makes a "banshee" declare, in 1318, that she lived "in the green fairy mounds," but had her "dwelling in hell."

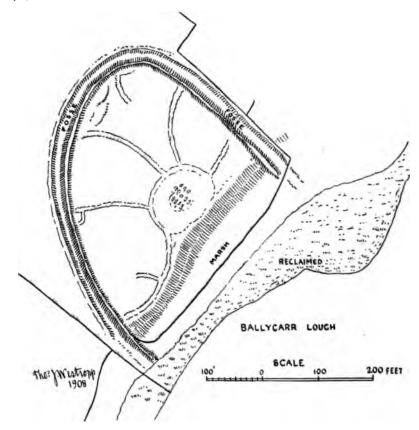
CAHERSCOOBY (42).—None of the forts in this townland seem to have exclusive right to its name. The chief one is on the actual bounds, projecting into Caherkine townland. It is a prominent object as seen from Moghane fort, showing as a grey ring on its knoll, a low, rounded hill about 200 feet above the sea, and rising boldly above the surrounding country save Moghane—commanding a beautiful view like the former out to Knocknaminna and Mount Callan, the Burren and Cratloe Hills, with Ballycarr Lake, and the Shannon, and the fairy hill of Knockfierna in the middle of County Limerick.

The fort is much levelled, but was of excellent masonry, with large facing. There are several hut-sites and a souterrain in its garth; the "cave" lies north and south, and is 32 feet long by 3 feet 7 inches wide, covered

¹ Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh.

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with long lintels of crag limestone. A small bullaun, or basin, has been picked and then partly ground into a sandstone boulder near it. A second caher, most completely levelled, is near the farm-house to the south-west; there we noticed a perfect and neat sandstone quern, with a raised ring on the upper stone. I find no mention of Caherscooby before 1641; it is called Le carowskobe in 1655, and Leahcarroo-ne-Scuoby in the Survey of "1675."



CAHERNACALLA FORT, BALLYCARE.

CAHERNACALLA (42).—This is the "Carrownakilly" of the Surveys of 1655 and 1839. Locally, however, it is now reputed to take its name from the fort on the west shore of Ballycarr Lake, and is called Cahernacallow, Cahernacalla, and Cahernakilly, divergently. The caher may be described as "a cliff-fort without a cliff," being of that characteristic plan—two rings,

¹ Miss Gwendoline C. Stacpoole first examined these forts, and found the bullaun stone.

² "Book of Distribution," p. 153; Edenvale Survey, p. 6. This seems to show that it may not be a "caher" name.

one entire, the other more or less crescent-shaped—which we find in Dun Aenghus, Cahercommaun, and many forts in the British Isles, France, Central Europe, and even Russia on the Ural Mountains in Perm.¹ At Cahernacalla, however, instead of abutting on a precipice or steep slope, it runs down into the marshy edge of a shallow lake: the ends of the fosse at one time ran out into the shallows; the usual water-level is now, however, lower.

The structure had a central circular enclosure, now levelled to the ground with evident traces of burial; it stands on the brow of the bank. From it radiate (if the word can be used of irregular curved banks) a series of earthworks, five in number. The whole is included in an irregular curved rampart, 13 feet 6 inches wide, faced with large stones, and filled with earth and small blocks; outside this is a fosse of the same width and traces of an outer mound. The caher is 366 feet across at the lake between the horns of the rampart, and about as much at its greatest depth: it is best shown by the plan. The garth between the rings measures 147 feet to the south, 280 feet to the west, and 105 feet to the north; the outer rampart is over 700 feet long round its inner face.

RATHFOLAND (42).—This fort is locally called Rathfolan, or Rafoland; it is called Rathfollane on the maps. The townland has three small raths and its strangely overturned castle, the lower vaulted room of which has literally turned over on its side. The largest rath bears the townland name; it is cut through by the road from Kilnasoola church to Moghane, and is on a gently rising ground. It has a slightly raised garth, with a ring and fosse, and an outer ring. Measuring along the road-cutting, the fort is 141 feet through the garth, and 186 feet over all; the outer ring is 15 feet wide, and 4 feet to 5 feet high, the fosse 9 feet wide. The portion to the north-west of the road is levelled.

The little rath down the slope, to the east of the Rectory, is, like the last, reputed to be haunted by fairies, and is therefore avoided by belated travellers. It has a ring 6 feet wide, with large blocks of stone, and a garth 81 feet across. A few paces up the slope, to the north-east, is a low, thin-banked ring, or bawn, hardly a foot high. The neighbouring Lough Gash, a hollow usually dry for half the year, has a hamlet of the same name, which, in 1905, as its horrified occupants firmly believed, was visited by a banshee on several successive nights. Nothing untoward,

¹ Journal Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland, vol. xxxviii., p. 31.

² It is shown in a sketch of Ballycarr Castle, by Thomas Dyneley, in 1680, reproduced in Frost's "History of Clare."

however, followed the omen, and they "could not see the crier of the cry," so opinion is now rather sceptical as to the "keener" being a real "badbh."

Ballynacragga (51).—A large fort stood on the rising ground to the west of Kilnasoola church. It was an irregularly oval stone ring-wall, 180 feet to 200 feet across, and entirely defaced. There is a loop (or house-enclosure) in the garth to the north-east; the field-bank sweeps round concentrically, and may represent an outer ring.

To the north is a much-levelled caher; its large foundation blocks and small filling show a wall 8 feet thick, enclosing a garth 138 feet to 141 feet across, with several house-enclosures and a hollow, reputed to be a souterrain. It is on a bold knoll overlooking the marshes, near the Fergus. Not far below, on the edge of the marsh, is a small tumulus 9 feet to 10 feet high, with a small low "annexe" to the north-east—large slabs and traces of digging to the south imply an attempt, by treasure-seekers, to despoil this tomb. It was first noted by Mr. Hugh Massy Westropp, and is not shown on the maps.

In Ballysallagh West, near the cross-road, some large blocks of coarse sandstone, suggesting a fallen dolmen, lie in a tilled field. The upper slab is 11 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 3 feet thick, and rests on two others. In this townland a fort was named Chaghremonghan, and remained in 1655.

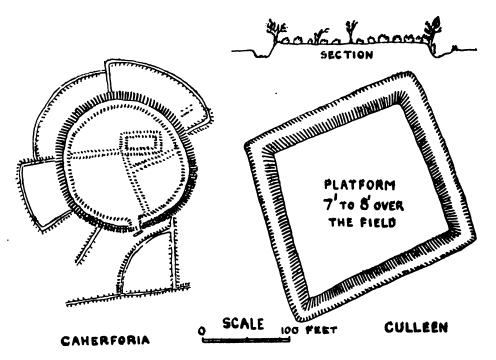
NEWMARKET (42).—In the field behind the picturesque old house and garden of Newmarket we find the remains of a typical caher. It has been planted, and a side enclosure with a pointed arched gateway to the south built on it. The northern segment on a crag overhanging a marsh is fairly preserved. A good piece of work with well-fitted blocks about 2 ft. 6 in. long and very small filling, the batter (like that of Langough) being 1 in 4: the wall was 13 ft. to 18 ft. thick; the gateway of large blocks faced the north; another less certain gate may have been at a gap to the south. The garth is 99 ft. across, and the whole diameter 117 ft.: the wall in places is over 6 ft. high. When I first examined the ruin, I noticed a scribed block with a deep line and several cross-cuts on its surface. It disappeared, and, despite careful search, has not been since forthcoming.

Urlan and Ballynooskny (51).—There are three small raths in Urlanmore, four in Urlanbeg, two at the boundary on Knocknagon Hill, and four in Lemaneigh, one of large size with a fosse and outer ring; they vary in diameter from 60 ft. to 100 ft. There are several forts of more interest in the next townland of Ballynooskny. Two near the smithy and cross-road

¹ Book of Distribution, p. 159.

are not marked on the maps, being nearly levelled; a third, westward, and at the further end of the same field, near Caherbane, is cut by the road; an old lane ran through its fosse. Two other small cahers; one, 69 ft. across the garth and 81 ft. over all, has the stone posts of a gateway 4 ft. 6 in. wide and facing the east; the wall is 6 ft. thick and 4 ft. high.

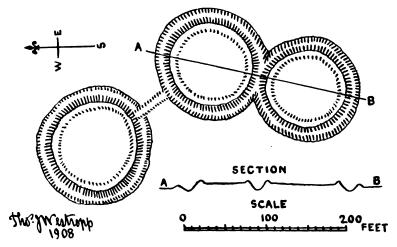
Caherforia lies farther southward in the same field. It is a fairly large stone fort, 162 ft. over all, the wall from 12 ft. to 15 ft. thick, and 7 ft. to 8 ft. high; the facing is destroyed. The gateway faced the south, its main lintel remains being 6 ft. 10 in. × 22 in. × 8 in. There are foundations of late houses in the



FORTS NEAR NEWMARKET-ON-FERGUS.

garth, and a series of irregular "bauns" round the wall. The foundations of an old-looking hut lie outside to the east, and the whole field is full of levelled enclosures and house-foundations. The place was called Caheravory in a grant of 1667. Other caher names, which I cannot definitely locate, are Caheroney in Orlenmoyle, 1655, called Caherowny alias Cahereeny in 1727: Cahermarine in Orlenbeg, 1655, called "Cahermaryne, near Urlan Case grant of 1667, Chaghremonghan in Ballysallagh West, 1655, and in a fiant of 1602, called Caherribane near Urlanmore in the 1621, and Cahirrobane in the Survey of 1675, it was probable

still named Caherbane. Caherteige, 1655, was in Clonloghan, Caherfiroge, 1617, possibly at Firgrove in Dromline and Caherhowhogan, in Deerpark, Bunratty, in 1728. In Cleenagh townland were twelve raths: only one is worthy of notice, a large "doon" girding Knockadoon Hill, between Cleeenagh Castle and the Fergus. It is an oval enclosure with a shallow fosse and low mound measuring 220 ft. (or 300 ft. over all) north and south and 220 ft. east and west; a very small ring lies near it on the south. There were several small forts at Kilmaelery church, one barely traceable in the field towards Cleenagh. Some miles farther south, near Kilconry church, on Thady's Hill, is a fine double-ringed rath, the inner garth about 100 feet across and 300 over all. All the names of these forts are forgotten.



KILLULLA FORTS, Co. CLARE.

KILLULIA (51).—This is a rather conventional name for a group of forts, lying eastward from the Urlan district; it extends from the Killulla cross-roads to Ralahine. The raths on Killulla Hill are of interest, being three conjoined earthworks, lying irregularly north and south. The northern is 81 feet in diameter, with a fosse and outer ring. Following a connecting earthwork, we reach the second fort, about 60 feet to the south-east. The rath is 93 feet in diameter, with a fosse, 12 feet wide, and an outer ring: the garth is raised 5 or 6 feet above the field. Cutting into the outer ring is the third rath, 99 feet in diameter, also with a fosse, 12 feet wide, and a ring. These two forts were probably constructed at the same time, and recall, on a much smaller scale, the Forradh and its companion at Tara. The

Fiants, in 1602; Edenvale Survey, 1676, p. 6; Book of Distribution and Survey, 1655, pp. 169, 164-171; Dublin Registry of Deeds, Books xxvi., p. 516, lvi., p. 467, and lxxxi.

fosses are usually shallow, from 2 feet to 4 feet deep, and running into one between the raths, so that the forts have their platforms barely 10 feet apart. The trace of an old sunken road, marked by blocks at some points, passes over the hill near these forts and to the west. The hill commands a wide view towards the Fergus.

Following the southern branch from the cross-road to Culleen townland, we find a good example of the straight-sided fort. It consists of a platform, 7 or 8 feet higher than the marshy field, and measuring 150 feet along the north-west and south-east faces and 168 feet along the other sides. The south-east corner is perfect, so square and steep as to suggest the recent survival of stone facing; a few old poplars grow along the bank, and the platform has no enclosures, and is dotted with hawthorn and sloe-bushes. The fosse is 20 feet wide, with a slight outer bank, and is full of water and masses of yellow iris to the south-west. A slight ring-fort, hardly 3 feet high, with a shallow fosse, lies to the south.

Returning by Killulla, we pass the large earthwork of Lislea. There is, south from the road and east from the cross-road from Ballycarr, the trace of a little fenced enclosure, where lies a sandstone block, 23 feet high and 3 feet square, in which is ground an oval basin, 11 feet deep × 15 feet and 4 feet deep. There is no trace of a burial-ground there, or of any fort or ancient building.

Monafolia Rath lies a short distance up the Ballycarr road; the name is not given on the map, but is locally well established for the bog in the south of Ballycarr townland and the fort near it, close to the edge of Ralahine, opposite the bench-mark 126.2, shown on the road. The rath is of the usual type, a low mound, 100 feet across, with a fosse, 12 feet wide and 4 feet to 5 feet deep, with outer and inner rings of earth and stones, 14 feet to 15 feet wide; it has traces of being stone-faced.

Ralahine' takes its name from a rath, remarkable only for being the scene of an important event in the medieval history of Clare. It is a small circular earth fort, with a modern facing-wall. Here, on August 15th, 1317, in the absence of the Lord of the Manor, Sir Richard de Clare, and his rival, king Murchad O Brien, who had gone to the Parliament of Dublin, Prince Dermot O Brien gathered the clans "to well-fenced Rath-laithin." After hearing Mass, they consulted and agreed to invade the territory of the rival house of O Brien. Then they "mustered with new standards and burnished arms," and marched "to that dim battle in the

¹ The map names are very unsatisfactory in this barony. If a pure Irish form is intended, why use "Rathlahine"? The phonetic spelling, "Ralahine," is better, and is the form of general usage from 1660 to 1840.

west," near Corcomroe Abbey, which sealed the fate of Clan Brian, the Irish allies of de Clare, and paved the way for the latter's death and the destruction of the English settlement in the "crowning mercy" of the battle of Dysert ODea in the next year.

All these places described in this paper formed parts of the Manor of Bunratty in 1287, under the De Clares. Gilbert Pippard held Carrigdir (Carrigerry); Walter Russell, Urlyn; Walter Flemyng, Clevenagh (Cleenagh); W. de St. Alban, Angys (Ing), and Ballygirthirn (Ballygirreen); John de Hiwys, Carthirth (Ballycarr, Baile Carthach); Patrick de Layndperun, Rathmolan (Rathfolan), Lisduff and Carrigodran (Carrigoran); Nic. de Interby and Henry White, Ballysallach; Henry Fuke, Clonlochan and Le Craggigg (Ballynecraggagh); Richard de Affoun, Cathyrnachyne (Caherkine), and the heirs of Gerald FitzMaurice, Rathlathyn (Rahlahine).

Where the battle of Tradree took place, in which Thomas de Clare fell in 1287, no tradition or definite record preserves the name. The gravel-pit to the south of the road, near Ballycarr House and the Railway Station, yielded, in 1903, quantities of bones; and Mr. Gilligan, of Newmarket, then told me that there was an old legend that there "the English soldiers killed at Ballycarr" had been buried. No battle (save those during the siege of Bunratty, in 1642, many miles away) is recorded in Tradree in later times; so as a genuine legend, with some corroboration, I leave the record of this fact.

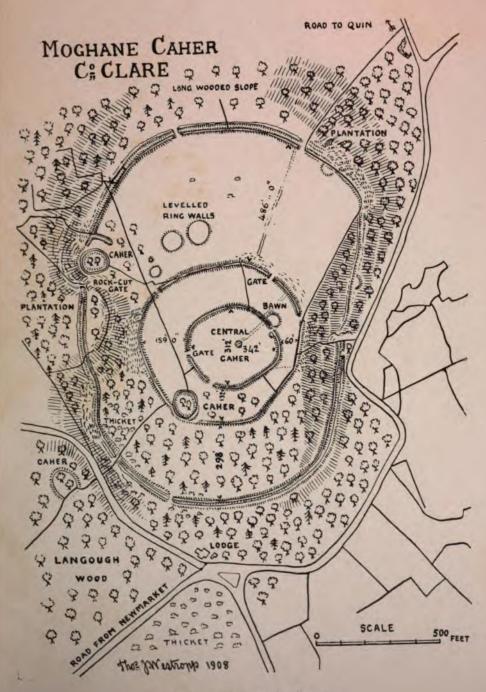
Another question might arise: the peel-towers date chiefly from the fifteenth century, and most of those in Tradree are recorded in the "Founders' List"; then what were the dwellings of the de Clares' Welsh and English tenants (not to speak of the Irish partisans, such as the O'Gradys, settled in Kilnasoola), and how were they defended? So far as we can judge, the earthworks of the Normans differed but little from those of the native Irish, and the colonists dug fosses, with earth-mounds and palisadings, or adopted those deserted by the Irish, as seemed most convenient. We know that at least one "rath of beauteous circles" was dug in this county late in the thirteenth century, and that the cahers and lisses were inhabited in the fourteenth century. It is not improbable that the construction of these convenient enclosures continued even later, while existing structures could always be palisaded and new houses built in them out of the abundant forests of Clare.

¹ Cal. Documents relating to Ireland, vol. iii., No. 459.

² The Bunratty earthwork is oblong, 8 feet to 10 feet high, and without a fosse, measuring $46 \text{ feet} \times 70 \text{ feet}$.

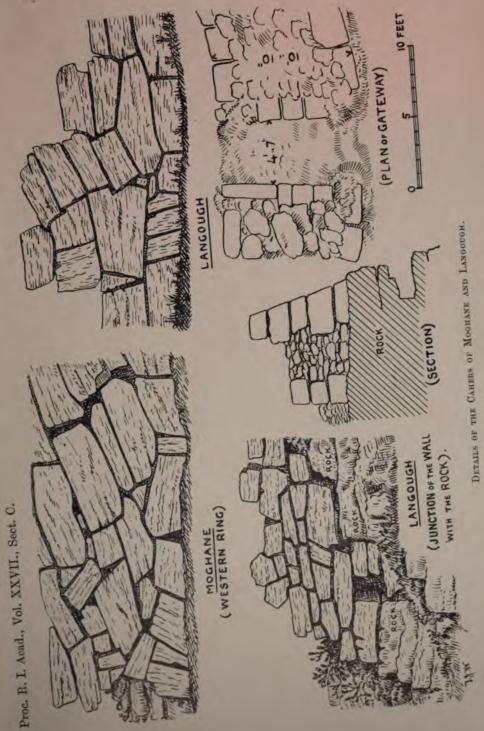
The problem of Moghane fort is of a different nature; and, as we have indicated, the facts seem to suggest an early date, and to preclude one after the fourth century. In a later paper we hope to examine more of these forts, and to point out their close similarity to the pre-Roman structures of Gaul. Meanwhile we lay before this Academy a systematic study of one large group of these interesting remains around the mysterious fortress of the ridge of Moghane and the ancient Corrasula.¹

¹ The local name among Irish-speakers for the village of Newmarket. I have to thank Mrs. Neville, of Newmarket, Miss Neville, and my nieces, Miss Gwendoline C. Stacpoole and Miss Louisa C. Westropp, for much help in collecting the folklore and names, and directing me to several of the remains.



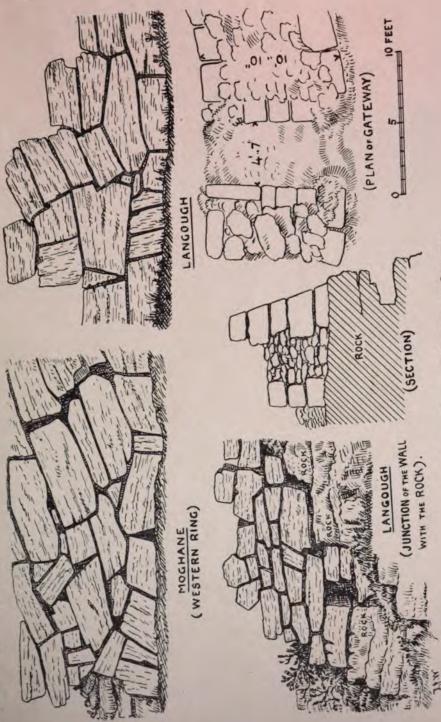
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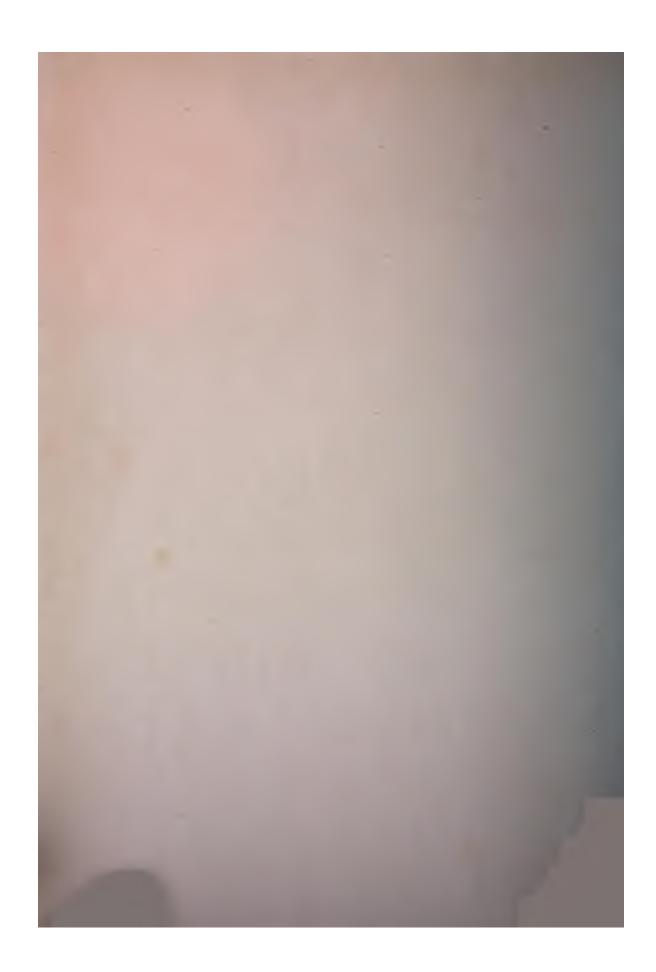


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Proc. R. I. Acad., Vol. XXVII., Sect. C.



DETAILS OF THE CAHERS OF MOGHANE AND LANGOUGH.



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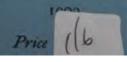
J. GILBART SMYLY

AN EXAMINATION OF THE DATES OF THE ASSOUAN ARAMAIC PAPYRI



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IX.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE DATES OF THE ASSOUAN ARAMAIC PAPYRI.

By J. GILBART SMYLY, M.A.

Read DECEMBER 14. Ordered for Publication December 16, 1908. Published JANUARY 16, 1909.

Towards the end of 1906 Professor Sayce and Mr. A. E. Cowley of Oxford published a number of Aramaic papyri, which had been recently discovered at Assouan, or in the island of Elephantine. These papyri are of the greatest interest from many points of view, but the present paper will deal with their chronology only. "As for chronology," remarks Professor Sayce, "the Aramæan papyri of Assouan possess a unique importance, owing to the duplicate dates which they contain. Not only can the exact year in which each was written be ascertained, but, thanks to the double dating in Egyptian and Syrian months, the exact date of the month ought also to be recoverable. I am, however, not sufficiently a mathematician to undertake the task of calculating the chronological equivalences which have been preserved to us, and Mahler's tables do not harmonize with them." Since the editors of the papyri have abstained from a discussion of the dates, and in some cases have, in my opinion, assigned the papyri to wrong years, I purpose in the following paper to examine at some length the chronological problems involved in them.

The dates as translated by the editors are :-

- A. On the 17th (18th?) of Elul, that is the 27th (28th?) day of Pachons, the 14th (15th?) year of Xerxes the king.
- B. On the 18th (?) of Chisleu, that is the 6th (7th?) day of Thoth, the 20th (21st?) year (of Xerxes), the beginning of the reign when Artaxerxes the king ascended the throne.
- C and D. On the 21st of Chisleu, that is the 1st of Mesore, the 6th year of Artaxerxes the king.
- E. On the 3rd of Chisleu, that is the 10th day of the month Mesore, the 19th year of Artaxerxes the king.

- F. On the 13th (14th?) of Ab, that is the 19th day of Pachons, the 25th year of Artaxerxes the king.
- G and H. The dates of these papyri are too incomplete for use in this discussion.
- J. On the 3rd of Chisleu, the 7th (8th?) year, that is the 11th (12th?) day of Thoth, the 7th (8th?) year of Darius the king.
- K. On the 23rd (24th?) of Shebat, the 13th year, that is the 8th (9th?) day of Athyr, the 13th (14th?) year of Darius the king.

Most of the difficulties in the interpretation of these dates are due to our ignorance. The Egyptian calendar, indeed, is well known-that is to say, in any given year the day and month of the Julian calendar corresponding to a given day and month of the Egyptian calendar can be found. Nothing, however, is known about the constitution of the Jewish calendar at this period, except the order of the months; but we may fairly assume that it was a luni-solar calendar, and that the first day of each month coincided approximately with the apparent new moon. We do not know, however, which was the first month of the year, or the method of intercalation adopted in order to reconcile the lunar months with the solar year. And though the years in which these Persian kings came to the throne are known, to a high degree of probability, from historical sources, we do not know the particular point in the year from which the years of the reign were counted: hence our reduction to Julian dates may be erroneous by one year, either in excess or defect. We do not know whether the years of the reign were post-dated or ante-dated; and we must admit the possibility that in different calendars the years were counted from different points. In these papyri our difficulties are increased by doubts in several cases as to the correct reading and interpretation of the numbers. Till these difficulties have been overcome and these questions have been answered, it is useless to attempt to formulate theories about the constitution of the Jewish calendar, and its system of intercalation.

It is necessary to make some assumptions with regard to the years, Jewish and Egyptian, which are employed in the documents; but these assumptions must be as few as possible. If we find that the results are hopelessly inconsistent, we should rather draw the conclusion that some of our preconceived opinions are erroneous, than take refuge in the assertion that the papyri are forgeries. This is the conclusion arrived at by Professor Belleli, who regards the disagreement of the documents with his conceptions about the Jewish calendar as a proof that they are spurious. Those

In a Paper read at the Victoria Institute, April 15, 1908,

have attempted to deal with the Macedonian calendar of the early Ptolemies will have learned caution.

The assumptions on which the following discussion is based are :-

- (1) The Egyptian year is the annus vagus of 365 days, without intercalation. In any given year the equivalent date by the Julian calendar can be determined.
- (2) The Jewish calendar was luni-solar. That is to say, the first day of any Jewish month approximately coincided with the apparent new moon. No assumption should be made as to the method of intercalation.
- (3) The accepted dates of the kings' reigns are approximately accurate, though, for the purposes of this investigation, an error of four or five years either way would not influence the results.

We should, therefore, proceed by first obtaining, as nearly as possible, the Julian days of the month which correspond to the Egyptian dates of the papyri. From this we can determine the Julian equivalent of the first day of the Jewish month. A comparison with the lunar tables will show whether this date coincided, in any not distant year, with the apparent new moon. By this method the day of the month in the Julian calendar is determined by the given Egyptian date; the year is determined by the lunar tables; so that we may regard the true Julian date as astronomically determined. From the results thus obtained we can determine the proper readings in those papyri in which they are doubtful: we can draw definite conclusions concerning the commencement of the year, and the way in which the years of the kings' reigns were counted. The determination of these points will provide for the chronology of the Persians in Egypt a basis much more secure than any that has previously existed.

Before entering upon the separate examination of the dates of the papyri, it is necessary to say a few words about the alternative numbers which appear in most of these dates. The doubts are partly due to the fact that the last stroke of the number sometimes differs from the others in thickness and in direction, but chiefly to the peculiarities in the form of the date of Papyrus K. In this text the number of the year is given twice: in the first instance it is clearly 13; but in the second the symbols for 13 are followed by a stroke slanting in a different direction from the others. The editors assumed that the number ought to be the same in both cases. But this assumption is not necessary, for among the early Greek and Demotic papyri of the Ptolemaic dynasty there are several which assign the same event to years whose numbers differ by one. This

is due to the fact that there were at least two different ways of counting the years of the king's reign. It is not only possible, but probable, that a similar difference existed in Persian times; and hence we need not feel any difficulty in the attribution of two different numbers to the year in dates given by two different calendars. If it had not been for this difficulty, which is really only apparent, no question, in all probability, of alternative numbers would ever have been raised. In what follows, however, the alternatives, where there is a real difference in the direction of the final stroke, will be considered.

Papyrus A.

In the first number, which gives the day of the month Elul, there is no perceptible difference of inclination in the final stroke: hence we should read "On the 18th day of Elul"; in the second number, giving the day of the month Pachons, the difference is very slight, so that the reading should, almost certainly, be "the 28th day of Pachons"; in the number of the year the difference of inclination is considerable, and the last stroke is also much thicker than the others: hence it is possible that the number may be either 14 or 15. The determination of the doubt must be left for further consideration: but, as in all other cases, there are strong reasons for adopting the higher number; there is, in this case also, a strong presumption in favour of 15. Accordingly, the date obtained for papyrus A is

Year 15 (14?) of Xerxes, Elul 18, Pachous 28.

The 14th or 15th year of Xerxes was, according to the accepted chronology, 471 or 470 B.C. In the years 473-470 the first of Thoth corresponded to the 19th December: hence the 28th of Pachons will correspond to the 12th of September: but this, according to the papyrus, was the 18th of Elul. The 1st of Elul therefore must have corresponded to the 26th of August. We must now examine the lunar tables for a true new moon two or three days earlier than this date. In the period from 481 B.C. to 464 B.C. inclusive, there is one, and only one, new moon which satisfies the conditions: namely, that of the year 471 B.C., given by Ginzel as August 24.19, i.e. 4.33 p.m., 24th of August, Greenwich mean time.

Thus the date of Papyrus A may be taken to be the 12th of September, 471 B.C.

¹ In the Babylonian astronomical tablets, the interval between the true and the apparent new moons varied from 19 to 53 hours. See "Astronomisches aus Babylon," Strassmaier and Epping, p. 42.

PAPYRUS B.

There is no reason for doubting that the day was the 18th of Chisleu. The day of Thoth is very uncertain; in the papyrus the number is only partially preserved, and the lacuna, as Schürer has pointed out, can be filled up by symbols which may represent 6 (7?), or 13 (14?), or 16 (17?). Of these three suggestions, the first and second are rather short, the third is rather long for the lacuna; but, as far as space is concerned, they are equally possible.

In the years 465-462, the Julian date corresponding to the 1st of Thoth was the 17th of December; hence, according to the reading adopted, the date of the document was either:—

- (a) 6th (7th ?) of Thoth = 22nd (23rd ?) of December;
- (b) 13th (14th?) of Thoth = 29th (30th?) of December;
- (c) 16th (17th?) of Thoth = 1st (2nd?) of January.

The dates obtained for the 1st of Chisleu are:—(a) 5th (6th?), (b) 12th (13th?), (c) 15th (16th?) of December.

The only new moons which can correspond to these are:—

- (a) 4th of December, 464 B.C.
- (b) 12th of December, 462 B.C.
- (c) 14th of December, 465 B.C.

Since Papyrus A is dated in the 14th or 15th year, and Papyrus B is dated in the 20th or 21st year of Xerxes, the interval between them cannot be as much as nine years; hence (b) must be rejected, and the choice lies between (a) and (c); in each case we should prefer the higher number for the day of the month, in order to leave sufficient time between the true and the apparent new moons.

- (1) 18th of Chisleu = 23rd of December, 464.
- (2) 18th of Chisleu = 2nd of January, 464.

The proper reading of the number of the year is left for subsequent discussion. We have thus two possible readings of the dates:—

- (1) On the 18th of Chisleu, that is the 7th day of Thoth, the 20th (21st?) year, &c.
- (2) On the 18th of Chisleu, that is the 17th day of Thoth, the 20th (21st?) year, &c.

¹ Theologische Literaturzeitung: February, 1907.

PAPYRI C AND D.

The date of Papyrus C is not well enough preserved for use in this discussion; but it is probably the same as that of Papyrus D. In Papyrus D there is no doubt about the day of the Jewish month or the number of the year; but considerable difficulty arises in connexion with the Egyptian date. If it be accepted as it stands, it will be found that the Jewish year must have shifted more than is possible in a properly constructed luni-solar calendar. In consequence of this difficulty, the date will not be made use of in the following investigation, but will be examined later in the light of the information derived from the other papyri.

PAPYRUS E.

The editors have read "On the third of Chisleu." The facsimile of the papyrus seems to have only two strokes to denote the day of the Jewish month; and my friend Mr. Cowley informs me that it is quite possible that the original had only two: accordingly, I adopt the reading "On the second of Chisleu."

The 10th of Mesore in the years 449-446 corresponded to the 17th of November: hence we obtain the 16th of November for the 1st of Chisleu. The only new moon in the period 450-436 which is suitable is that of the 15th of November, 446; hence the date of Papyrus E is:—

2nd of Chisleu = 10th Mesore = 16th of November, 446 B.C.

PAPYRUS F.

In the first number there is a considerable difference of inclination in the last stroke, so it remains uncertain whether 13 or 14 should be read.

In the years 441-438, the 19th of Pachons corresponded to the 26th of August; the 1st of Ab corresponded to the 14th or the 13th of August; the new moon is found to be that of the 12th of August, 440 B.C.

Papyrus J.

This papyrus differs from those already discussed, in giving the number of the year twice, once after the Jewish month, and again after the Egyptian month. The editors' note runs as follows:—

"The number of the year is given twice, and presumably is the same in both cases, unless two different reckonings are followed, which is unlikely where the numbers are so nearly the same. The last stroke in both is oping, and it is doubtful, therefore, whether we should read them as 7 or 8.

But the arrangement of the last numeral is peculiar. Elsewhere in these deeds the units are always arranged in groups of three. There is a crease in the papyrus here in the second group, and a faint trace of a hidden third stroke may perhaps be discerned. If so, the number would be MI III III, which would be regular, but would not agree with the other year-number, unless we assume that the final stroke is counted in one and not in the other."

It has already been pointed out that there is no necessity for assuming the identity of the two numbers, and Lidzbarski¹ is undoubtedly right in his assertion that the hidden third stroke in the second group of the second number must be there, and that the number of the year connected with the Jewish month is different from that connected with the Egyptian month. If the last stroke is not counted, the date should be read thus:—

On the 3rd of Chisleu, the 7th year, that is the 12th day of Thoth, the 8th year of Darius the King.

But if the last stroke is part of the number, the date will be :

On the 3rd of Chisleu, the 8th year, that is the 12th day of Thoth, the 9th year of Darius the King.

In the years 417-414, the 12th of Thoth corresponded to the 16th of December; hence the 1st of Chisleu corresponded to the 14th of December. The only suitable new moon is that of the 12th of December, 416 B.C., and the date of the papyrus is the 16th of December, 416.

PAPYRUS K.

The doubtful numbers cannot in this case be determined by the writing: in each instance the final stroke has a distinctly different inclination from the others. But since the number for the year given after the Jewish month is certainly 13, the analogy of Papyrus J indicates that the second number for the year should be 14.

In the years 412-409, the 8th (9th?) of Athur corresponded to the 9th (10th?) of February: hence the 1st of Shebat corresponded to the 18th of January. The corresponding new moon is that of the 16th of January, 410 B.C. Thus the date of the papyrus is the 10th of February, 410.

It would not be reasonable to suppose that a new year began in the interval between the 12th of Thoth and the following 9th of Athur: hence these two dates would always fall in the same regnal year. But we have found that the date of Papyrus J was the 12th of Thoth (16th of December), 416, and that of Papyrus K was the 9th of Athur (10th of February), 410.

It follows that according as Papyrus J was in the 7th, 8th, or 9th year, Papyrus K was in the 12th, 13th, or 14th year of Darius. For Papyrus K the 12th year is impossible, and, therefore, the 7th year is impossible for Papyrus J. Since we must take the higher number in one case, we should take it in all cases; for we can hardly suppose that the Jews employed a numerical system which would have been ambiguous even to themselves.

We can now tabulate the results so far obtained, choosing in each case the higher numbers; but in Papyri A and B the question will still be left open, because an important chronological difficulty arises, the solution of which depends upon the choice of the numbers of the years.

- A. 15th (14th?) year of Xerxes.18 Elul = 28th Pachons = 12th September, 471 B.c.
- B. 21st (20th?) year of Xerxes = year of accession of Artaxerxes.
 - (1) 18 Chisleu = 7 Thoth = 23rd December, 464 B.C.
 - (2) 18 Chisleu = 17 Thoth = 2nd January, 464 B.C.
- E. 19th year of Artaxerxes.
 - 2 Chisleu = 10 Mesore = 17th November, 446 B.C.
- F. 25th year of Artaxerxes.
 - 14 Ab = 19 Pachons = 26th August, 440 B.C.
- J. 3 Chisleu, 8th year = 12 Thoth, 9th year of Darius = 16th December, 416 B.C.
- K. 24 Shebat, 13th year = 9 Athur, 14th year of Darius = 10th February, 410 B.C.

Up to this point in the argument only approximations to the numbers of the years of the reigns have been employed; it remains to be examined whether the results which have been obtained can be reconciled with the actual numbers given for those years.

But before entering on a detailed comparison it is necessary to discuss the ways in which the years of the reign may have been counted.

The theory that the years were counted from the anniversary of the king's accession may be rejected. Such a method would have given rise to serious practical difficulties, and was probably not adopted by any ancient people. It is also clearly excluded by the form of the date of Papyrus B. Three other theories as to the beginning of the year are a priori equally possible: the year may have been counted (a) in Egyptian style, from the 1st Thoth; or (b) in Babylonian style, from the apparent new moon corresponding to the 1st of Nisan; or (c) in the style adopted by the later Jews, from the apparent new moon corresponding to the 1st of Tishri. In

what follows these three years will be called respectively a Thoth year, a Nisan year, and a Tishri year.

A comparison of Papyri E and F proves that the Tishri year was not that employed, for the date of Papyrus E is 17th November, 446; and if the 19th year began at some date in Sept.-Oct., 446, the 25th year would have begun on some day in Sept.-Oct., 440, and hence could not have included the 26th of August, 440. In other words, a comparison of Papyri E and F proves that the beginning of the year cannot have taken place between the 26th of August and the 17th of November. There remain the Thoth year and the Nisan year. In dating by kings' reigns, in most ancient countries, except Babylon, the reigns were ante-dated; that is, the second year began at the new year after the king's accession. Thus in the so-called Ptolemaic Canon, the reigns of the Ptolemies are counted from the 1st of Thoth preceding the accession.

In Babylon the reigns were post-dated. The year of the accession of the new king was the last of the preceding king, and the first year began on the 1st of the following Nisan. The Ptolemaic Canon for the Babylonian kings dates the reign from the 1st of Thoth, before the 1st of Nisan, after the accession: thus in the period between the 1st of Thoth and the following 1st of Nisan, the Canon date will be one year in advance of the Babylonian date.

This principle, adopted in the Canon, of dating the Babylonian kings from the 1st of Thoth preceding the 1st of Nisan which was subsequent to the accession, is not a true system of ante-dating the reigns, unless the accession of the king came later than the 1st of Thoth and earlier than the 1st of Nisan: if the accession came after the 1st of Nisan and before the 1st of Thoth, the reigns would be post-dated in both calendars. Though the system of the Canon is simple and intelligible for the astronomical purposes for which it was drawn up, it is hardly conceivable that it was adopted for dating contemporary documents. In these it is much more probable that, while the years were, as we shall see, post-dated by the Jewish calendar, they were truly ante-dated by the Egyptian. If this were so, it would follow that, when the accession took place between the 1st of Thoth and the 1st of Nisan, the number of the year in the Egyptian calendar would be greater by one than that in the Jewish calendar during the period between the 1st of Thoth and the 1st of Nisan, and that

^{&#}x27;It is not necessary to discuss these statements here, because the whole question has been very clearly examined by Eduard M. Meyer, and these results have, in my opinion, been definitely proved by him in "Forschungen zur alten Geschichte," vol. ii., p. 437f.

the number of the year would be the same in both calendars from the 1st of Nisan to the 1st of Thoth. If, however, the accession took place between the 1st of Nisan and the 1st of Thoth, the numbers of the years would never be the same in both calendars, but would differ by one in the period between the 1st of Nisan and the 1st of Thoth, and by two in the period between the 1st of Thoth and the 1st of Nisan. It is thus obvious that unless we know the system of dating employed in the calendar by which any particular document is dated, we are liable to an error of one or possibly two years in reducing the date to the Julian calendar.

Now, there are three dates among these papyri belonging to the reign of Darius II. The first, Papyrus H, is dated in Payni, that is in September; it thus falls in the period between the 1st of Nisan and the 1st of Thoth, and the number of the year is given only once. The other two, Papyri J and K, fall in the other period of the year, that between the 1st of Thoth and the 1st of Nisan, and the number of the year in the Egyptian date is greater by one than that in the Jewish date. The natural deductions are, firstly, that the year connected with the Egyptian months was a Thoth year, and that connected with the Jewish months was a Nisan year; and secondly, that Darius II. came to the throne between the 1st of Thoth and the 1st of Nisan—a point to which I shall revert later. But we are not yet in a position to say which year was employed when only one number is assigned to the year. A comparison of the dates, first on the supposition that the years were Thoth years, and then that they were Nisan years, indicates clearly that in these cases the Nisan year was employed. The date of Papyrus E is the 17th of November, 446; if the years were Thoth years. E would have been in the year beginning 1st of Thoth, 447, and the 1st year of Artaxerxes would have been counted from the 1st of Thoth, 465. Comparing this with the two forms of the date of Papyrus B, namely, B (1). 7 Thoth, 23rd December, 464, and B (2), 17 Thoth, 2nd January, 464, we find that B (1) would have been in the second year, and B (2) in the first year, of Artaxerxes. Therefore, if the years were Thoth years, B (1) must be rejected.

The same result is obtained from a comparison of the dates of Papyri A and B: they are—for A, 12th September, 471, in the fourteenth or fifteenth year of Xerxes; for B (1), 23rd December, 464; for B (2), 2nd January, 464, in the twentieth or twenty-first year of Xerxes.

If A be compared with B (1), it is clear that the years cannot have been Thoth years; for then A would fall in the year 19th Dec., 472, to 18th Dec., 471; and B (1) in the year 17th Dec., 464, to 16th Dec., 463. If, then, A belonged to the fourteenth year, B (1) would have been in the twenty-

second; and if A had belonged to the fifteenth year, B (1) would have been in the twenty-third year.

If A be compared with B (2), on the supposition that the years were Thoth years, A would have fallen in the year 19th Dec., 472, to 18th Dec., 471, and B (2) in the year 17th Dec., 465, to 16th Dec., 464. Hence, if A was in the fourteenth year, B (2) would have been in the twenty-first year, and if A had been in the fifteenth year, B (2) would have been in the twenty-second. Thus the assumption of a Thoth year leads to the results that we must take the lower of the two numbers for the year in Papyrus A, and the higher in Papyrus B, and that we must suppose that the accession year of Artaxerxes was counted as his first year. Both of these results are improbable, for we have seen that the higher numbers are to be preferred, and it is not likely that different systems of writing numerals were used in Papyri A and B. And if the accession year of Artaxerxes was counted as his first year, there would have been no reason for dating Papyrus B by the number of the year of Xerxes.

If, on the other hand, we assume that the years began on the 1st of Nisan (March-April), A will fall in the year 471/0, and B(1) in the year 464/3. If, then, the 14th year was 471/0, the 20th year would have been 465/4, and the 21st 464/3; if the 15th year was 471/0, the 20th would have been 466/5, and the 21st 465/4. Since the date of B(1) is in 464/3, we should have to assign A to the 14th year and B(1) to the 21st year of Xerxes, thus taking the lower number in A and the higher in B.

In a Nisan year B (2) would belong to the year 465/4, so that if A were in the 14th, B(2) would be in the 20th, and if A were in the 15th B(2) would be in the 21st year. This gives rise to no difficulties; and we are led to the conclusions that the years were Nisan years, and that B(2) is the correct reading of Papyrus B. So far no definite dates have been adopted from independent history; the results would have been the same if there had been a margin of two or three years on either side in the dates assumed for the kings. Even so it has been found that B(1) cannot be regarded as a possible reading; but history also provides a strong reason for rejecting it. It is practically certain that Xerxes was murdered in the summer of 465, and it is extremely unlikely that dating by the numbers of his years would have been continued till December of 464, a year and a half later. But B(2) belongs to January of 464, about six months after the death of Xerxes; and it is quite natural that documents should continue to be dated after the king's death by the number of the current year of his reign, till the beginning of the next year, that is, till the next 1st of Nisan, but not beyond this point. There is an analogy for this in the financial documents of the early Ptolemies,

in which the dates run by the last year of the late king till the end of the financial year, at which point the 2nd year of his successor begins. gives an additional reason for rejecting the theory of a Thoth year, for Papyrus B is dated on the 7th of Thoth, and would thus, on this hypothesis, belong to the very beginning of the year. The years accordingly were Nisan years, and B(2) is the proper reading of Papyrus B. But it is not yet determined whether we should assign A to the 14th and B to the 20th year, or A to the 15th and B to the 21st year. This point is of considerable importance, for, if the 14th year of Xerxes began on the 21st of Nisan, 471, his first year would have begun on the 1st of Nisan, 484. According to the Canon the first year of Xerxes was 23rd December, 486, to 22nd December, 485, which means that according to Baylonian counting it began on the 1st of Nisan, 485. Hence in these papyri the reign would have been post-dated, and in the canon—contrary to its usual practice for Babylonian and Persian kings—ante-dated. This is in agreement with the result obtained by E. Meyer (op. cit.) for Babylonian documents; for them it is possibly true, though, I think, not proved. But in these Egyptian documents it has been seen that the higher numbers are generally right, and so we should almost certainly assign Papyrus A to the 15th, and Papyrus B to the 21st, year. Since, then, the 15th year of Xerxes began on the 1st of Nisan, 471, his first year, according to these documents, began on the 1st of Nisan, 485, and his 21st year on the 1st of Nisan, 465. A few months later he was murdered, but the remainder of this year was still denoted by the number 21, or was called the accession year of Artaxerxes. The first year of Artaxerxes was counted from the next 1st of Nisan (464); the date given by the Canon is consistent with this, for it counts his reign from the 17th of December, 465. evident that the reign of Artaxerxes was post-dated; and that it was so is also proved by a comparison of Papyri B and E, for according to E the 16th of November, 446, was in the 19th year; hence the 19th year began on the 1st of Nisan 446, and the first year must have been counted from the 1st of Nisan, 464, but Papyrus B belongs to January, 464, and hence was written before the beginning of the first year, though after the accession of Artaxerxes. It is generally supposed that Artaxerxes died in the winter of 425/4, and hence that he did not complete his 40th year. Documents, however cuneiform tablets-are said to exist bearing dates up to the 11th month of his 41st year; whence Meyer deduces that the first year of Artaxerxes was, according to the documents, 465/4. This is not in accordance with these Egyptian papyri, and I should prefer to doubt the interpretation of the tablets.

From Papyrus J we learn that the 16th December, 416, was in the

8th year of Darius, according to the Jewish reckoning; in the 9th year, according to the Egyptian; and from Papyrus K, that the 10th of February, 410, was in the 13th Jewish, and in the 14th Egyptian year of Dariushence his first year was counted from the 1st of Nisan (March-April), 423, by the Jews; from the 1st of Thoth (7th of December), 424, by the Egyptians. I have already pointed out that if the usual custom was followed of post-dating by the Babylonian, and ante-dating by the Egyptian calendar, it would result that Darius came to the throne between the 1st of Thoth and the 1st of Nisan, that is, after the 7th of December, 424, and before the end of March, 423. The date of his accession is placed by historians two or three months earlier, in September, 424. This date is obtained by adding two months for the reign of Xerxes II, and seven months for that of Sogdianus to the date of the death of Artaxerxes I, which is given by Thucydides. Thus E. Meyer deduces from the narrative of Thucydides (iv. 50) that the death of Artaxerxes I occurred about December, 425, or January, 424; that of Xerxes II, about February, 424; that of Sogdianus, and the accession of Darius II, about September, 424. So, also, Clinton, in the "Fasti Hellenici" ii., p. 314: "If the death of Artaxerxes was known at Ephesus in the winter of the Archon Stratocles, as may be collected from this narrative, he would barely survive the Thoth of N.E. 324, or December 7, B.C. 425, although his reign is extended by the Canon to December of the following year." The narrative in Thucydides does not, however, exclude a later date for the death of Artaxerxes; he writes: τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμώνος 'Αριστείδης ὁ 'Αρχίππου . . . 'Αρταφέρνην ανδρα Πέρσην παρά βασίλεως πυρευόμενον ες Λακεδαίμονα ξυλλαμβάνει έν 'Ηιόνι τη έπὶ Στρυμόνι. καὶ αὐτοῦ κομισθέντος οἱ 'Αθηναΐοι τὰς μὲν έπιστολάς μεταγραψάμενοι έκ των 'Ασσυρίων γραμμάτων άνέγνωσαν . . . τον δ' 'Αρταφέρνην υστερον οι 'Αθηναίοι αποστέλλουσι τριήρει ές "Εφεσον καί πρέσβεις αμα. οι πυθόμενοι αυτόθι βασιλέα Αρταξέρξην τον Ξέρξου νεωστί τεθνηκότα (κατά γάρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν) ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν.

Thucydides thus tells us that during the winter Aristeides captured Artaphernes at Eion; that Artaphernes was brought to Athens, where his despatches were read, and that he was afterwards sent to Ephesus, where the envoys of the Athenians heard the news of the recent death of Artaxerxes. There is nothing to indicate the part of the winter in which Artaphernes was captured, nor how long he was kept at Athens; the vague word "afterwards" ("στερου) does not even necessarily imply that he was sent away from Athens, much less that he arrived at Ephesus, before the beginning of the summer. In this case we need not discuss the exact meaning of the words 'winter' and 'summer' in Thucydides, because the very beginning of

the following summer was marked by a partial eclipse of the sun: Thue, v. 52: τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς τοῦ τε ἡλίου ἐκλιπές τι ἐγέυετο περὶ νουμηνίαν καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἱσταμένου ἔσεισε.

This eclipse took place on the 21st of March, 424. Even if it is supposed that the death of Artaxerxes was known at Ephesus before the beginning of summer, it is not necessary to put the death of the king earlier than the 7th of March; for the news of such an event would spread with great rapidity, and the Persian post was famous for its speed, so that the news might have arrived at Ephesus in about a fortnight. Thus the death of Artaxerxes might be placed about the 7th of March; if we add to this the two months of the reign of Xerxes, and the seven months of that of Sogdianus, we reach the 7th of December (1st of Thoth), 424. Hence, even if Thucydides meant that Artaxerxes died before the end of the winter, it is possible to bring down the accession of Darius II as late as December, 424. There is another reason for assigning the death of Artaxerxes to as late a date as possible. It was the Persian custom to count the years of a reign from the 1st of Nisan next after the accession. If Artaxerxes had died some months, as is generally supposed, before this date, it is practically certain that either Xerxes II or Sogdianus would have been included in the Canon with one year to his credit. But this year is assigned by the Canon to Artaxerxes, which is an indication that he survived till the 1st of Nisan of the year 424. If this were so, all difficulty would disappear, and it seems probable that Thucydides should be less strictly interpreted, and that his expression "afterwards" covers a slight auticipation of the summer. Thus according to these papyri the years of the Persian kings were counted as follows :--

Xerxes I, from 1 Nisan, 485 B.C.

Artaxerxes I, from 1 Nisan, 464 B.C.

Darius II, from 1 Nisan, 423 B.C., by the Jews; from 1 Thoth, 424 B.C. by the Egyptians.

This is in complete agreement with the Canon, which counts the years of Xerxes I from 1 Thoth, 486, those of Artaxerxes I from 1 Thoth, 465, and those of Darius II from 1 Thoth, 424.

We may now return to the consideration of the date of Papyrus D.

"On the 21st of Chisleu, that is the 1st of Mesore, the 6th year of Artaxerxes the king."

The editors remark, in connexion with the number of the Egyptian month Mesore, that "the papyrus is creased, but probably nothing is lost, and the numeral is 1." But if the 21st of Chisleu corresponded to the 1st of

Mesore, the 1st of Chisleu would have corresponded to the 11th Epeiph that is the 22nd of October. Now in Papyrus B the 1st of Chisleu corresponded to the 16th of December, and there would thus have been a displacement of 55 days, which is too great for a properly constructed lunisolar calendar. Mr. E. B. Knobel has called attention to this discrepancy, and suggested that the crease in the papyrus conceals a symbol for 30; if this be so, the date will be the 31st of Mesore, and it is necessary to make the further assumption that the 1st of the Epagomenae-that is, of the five days intercalated after Mesore in the Egyptian calendar-was designated the 31st of Mesore by the Jews. If this be admitted as possible, the 1st of Chisleu would have corresponded to the 11th of Mesore, that is to the 21st of November. The lunar tables give a new moon on the 19th November, 460 B.C. But it has already been shown that the 1st year of Artaxerxes was counted from the 1st of Nisan, 464. Hence this date would have fallen in the 5th, not in the 6th year of the king. I believe that the crease conceals the symbol for the number 20, so that the date would be :-

"On the 21st of Chisleu, that is the 21st of Mesore, in the 6th year of Artaxerxes the king."

The difficulty of supposing that the 1st of the Epagomenae was called the 31st of Mesore is thus avoided. The 1st of Chisleu would then have corresponded to the 1st of Mesore, that is to the 11th of November; the lunar tables give a new moon on the 9th of November, 459 B.C. The date of the papyrus thus becomes the 1st of December, 459, which falls, as required, in the 6th year of the king.

The other papyri which have been omitted from the investigation are G and H. In Papyrus G nearly all the numbers, including that of the king's reign, have been torn away, so that the date cannot be determined. In Papyrus H the day of the month is not given either by the Jewish or by the Egyptian calendar; the date runs: "In the month Elul, that is Payni, the 4th year of Darius the king." At this time the 1st of Payni corresponded to the 2nd of September, and the 4th year of Darius began on the 1st of Nisan, 420 B.c. We find from the lunar tables that the true new moon corresponding to Elul took place on the 31st of August, 420, and hence the 1st of Elul would have corresponded to the 2nd of September; Elul and Payni would have begun on the same day, and both would have corresponded almost exactly with the Julian month September.

¹ Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. lxviii., No. 6, March, 1908.

The dates of the papyri which have been thus determined are :-

Papyrus A, 12th September 471.
Papyrus B, 2nd January, 464.
Papyri C and D, 1st December, 459.
Papyrus E, 17th November, 446.
Papyrus F, 26th August, 440.
Papyrus H, September, 420.
Papyrus J, 16th December, 416.
Papyrus K, 10th February, 410.

In a Paper published in *Hermathena* in 1906, I endeavoured to prove that the years of the Ptolemies Philadelphus, Euergetes I, and Philopator were counted in two different ways; there was, firstly, the ordinary Egyptian year counted from the 1st of Thoth, and, secondly, a year used for revenue or financial purposes, and counted from a date very close to the vernal equinox. We now find that exactly the same two years were in use in Egypt two centuries earlier. It is, perhaps, worth noticing that the financial year of the Ptolemies corresponds to the Jewish year in Persian Egypt; and the idea suggests itself that the one was a survival of the other, and that in ancient days, as in modern times, the Jews displayed their ability in administering the finances of the countries of their adoption.

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10

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

VOLUME XXVII, SECTION C, No. 10

GEORGE COFFEY

HE DISTRIBUTION OF GOLD LUNULÆ
IN IRELAND AND NORTH-WESTERN
EUROPE



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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

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X.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOLD LUNULÆ IN IRELAND AND NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE.

BY GEORGE COFFEY, A. I. B.

PLATES IX.-XII.

Read JANUARY 11. Ordered for Publication JANUARY 13. Published FERRUARY 22, 1909.

THE flat gold collars known as lunulæ or crescents are probably the most characteristic and distinctive of the gold ornaments of the Early Bronze Period found in Ireland. They are often erroneously described as minns. This mistake is due to the general error into which our older writers have fallen, and from which we have hardly yet escaped, by which the Prehistoric Period in Ireland—that is, the period prior to the Christian era—was regarded as one and simple. It was, therefore, sought to identify all the prehistoric antiquities found in Ireland with objects mentioned in the tales of the early centuries, or of a few centuries B.C. Modern archaeology is gradually bringing to light the fact that prehistoric Ireland was not one and isolated, but is to be explained by being viewed as a part of the prehistoric period of Europe, in which sections and sub-periods can be separated, embracing many centuries and local differences; even the Bronze Period includes a long space of time and many sub-periods.

The circumstances under which lunulæ have been found are rarely recorded. Secrecy is generally observed about the finding of gold objects; and it is usually too late to obtain reliable particulars when the find becomes known. The number which have been found in Ireland is quite surprising. The great collection now in the Museum—which the Royal Irish Academy has formed and continues to add to, to illustrate our National Antiquities—contains no less than thirty-six examples. Some of these are late additions. In a few instances, they are said to have been found at or under Rude Stones, but the information requires to be more precise.

Except in the rare cases of plain examples (fig. 1), lunulæ are engraved on one face with finely cut or scored, well-recognized Early Bronze Age ornament consisting mostly of bands of lines, and cross-hatchings, chevrons, triangles, and lozenges. The ornament may be compared with that on many flat bronze celts of an early period; and in a few cases the triangles are filled with dots, as if by the same hand that decorated the early celts with the same ornament, such as that on the celt said to have been found in County Limerick (Plate XII., No. 3).

The centres of the lunulæ are plain, the exact reason of which is not quite evident; the way in which the ornament is gathered to the ends and spaced by bands reminds us of the plates of the jet-necklaces, ornamented with triangle and lozenge ornament, which are ascribed to the end of the Stone Age and the Early Bronze Age.

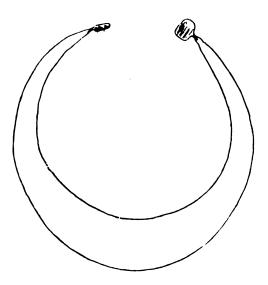


Fig. 1.—Trents, Carrigans, Co. Donegal. (1889: 20. Wt. 1 oz. 7 dwt. 20 grs.) 1.

In an example recently obtained by the Academy from Co. Donegal (fig. 2), the lines are not struck across from border to border, but stopped a little short of the border. This perhaps emphasizes the likeness in appearance to the jet necklaces.

Two lunulæ found together at Padstow in Cornwall are said to have been found with a bronze celt of the earliest type, judging from the figure in the Archæological Journal. The find is preserved in the Truro Museum. This is, I believe, the only instance of an associated object found with lunulæ.

In several instances (see list) two, three, and four lunulæ have been found together. In such cases, however, although several gold objects have thus

¹ Archeological Journal, vol. xxii., p. 277.

been found together, in no instance have any later objects, torques, etc., been found with them.

Plates IX. to XI., with figs. 2, 3, illustrate the varieties of ornament in the collection of the Academy, with the exception of three perfectly plain examples. Fig. 3, taken from Wilde's Catalogue, represents one of the most perfectly ornamented specimens in the collection. The use of the gatelike forms in the ornamentation of the curve mark it out for notice,



Fig. 2.—Naran, Co. Donegal. (1909: 6. Wt. 1 oz. 13 dwt. 23 grs.) 1.

The large one (Plate X., No. 2) is probably the largest example found; it measures 111 inches by 104 inches high, and the aperture for the neck has a diameter of 57 inches, and weighs 4 oz. 3 dwt. 21 grs. Plate XI., No. 2, was found in an oak case (fig. 4) at Newtown, Crossdoney, Co. Cavan. The case has greatly shrunk; when found it measured 10 inches by 8 inches.

The aperture cut out for the neck usually varies from 51 to 61 inches in diameter, or 16 to 18 inches in circumference, and is irrespective of the size of the outer curve of the collar. The two expanded flat pieces at the ends are



F10. 3.—Killarney. (W. 2. Wt. 3 oz. 4 dwt. 3 grs.)

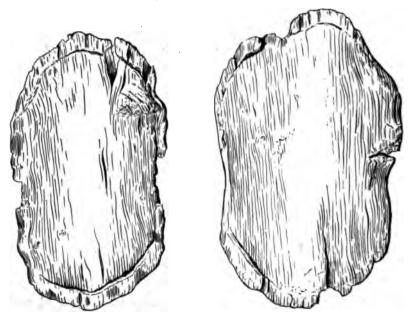


Fig. 4.—Newtown, Crossdoney, Co. Cavan. 3.

always turned at right angles to the plane of the lunula, and serve to clasp the back of the neck, and may have been secured by a tie. It need not, however, be pointed out that they are quite out of place in a head-ornament; indeed, the geometrical shape of a lunula is contrary to such a theory, and quite different from recognized diadems or head-ornaments.

One example found at Valognes has a chain and sort of buckle attached at the ends. It has since been melted down; but a figure of it is preserved (fig. 5). The chain seems to have been ancient—at least it is stated to have been on it as shown when found; but however ancient it may be, it is evident that it was more recently attached than the original make of the ornament. It is, however, of interest as indicating at some time a chain-tie to secure the ends of the ornament.1

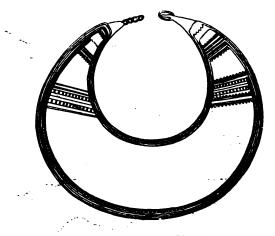
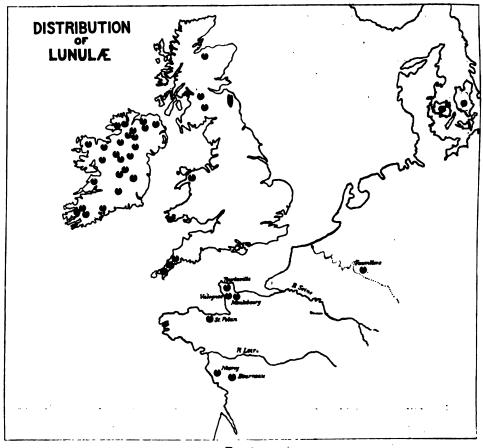


Fig. 5.-Valognes, Manche.

However, it is not the intention of this paper to describe minutely the peculiarities of individual examples. Lunulæ have been described and published so often it is unnecessary. I seek merely to illustrate in map form their general distribution in Ireland and the adjoining coast-lands of the north-west of the Continent (fig. 6).

The accompanying list of finds shows how numerous they are in Ireland, and how rarely they have been found outside this island. The map shows their distribution: two have been found in the West Baltic, at Zealand and They have otherwise hardly penetrated beyond Brittany. One has been found as far as Fauvillers, Luxembourg.

This failure to penetrate far from the coasts of England and Brittany may point to early raids; but the copper and tin of Cornwall, as well as the tin deposits of Brittany, as well as the general trade through Brittany, might explain the finds as indications of the early seeking of the gold deposits of Ireland.



F10. 6.

The presence of lunulæ in Cornwall and in Brittany is significant. The new view recently put forward exhaustively by Monsieur Louis Siret, that in the tin deposits of the islands off the coast of Brittany are to be sought the Cassiterides, perhaps explains the occurrence of lunulæ in Brittany.

We may provisionally take 1200 to 1500 B.C. as a date for the lunula, though the later date may be thought perhaps too late.

¹ L'Anthropologie, tom. xix., 1908, p. 129.

The finds in France are taken from a paper by M. le Comte Olivier Costa de Beauregard, Congrès Archéologique de France, Beauvais, 1905, p. 285. I have adopted his manner of mapping them. He has taken the list chiefly from Monsieur S. Reinach's memoir, Revue Celtique, 1900, p. 172.

LUNULÆ NOW EXISTING OR KNOWN TO HAVE FORMERLY EXISTED.

IRELAND (61, at least).

| County. | | No. | Reference. |
|-------------|---|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Donegal | • | 2 | Trenta, Carrigans, R.I.A. 1889: 20 (1). Naran, R.I.A. 1909: 6 (1). |
| Londonderry | • | 2 | R.I.A. W. 12 (1). R.I.A. (loan 1907: 7) (1). |
| Antrim | • | 3 | Dublin Penny Journal, vol. iv., p. 295 (3). |
| Down | • | 1 | Castlereagh, Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. ix., p. 46 (1). |
| Tyrone | • | 3 | Trillick, R.I.A. 1884: 495 (1). Carrickmore, R.I.A. 1900: 50 (1). Tartaraghan, Ulster Journal of Archeology, vol. ix., p. 47 (at Cecil, Augher) (1). |
| Mayo | | 1 | R.I.A. 1909: 4 (1). |
| Sligo | | 1 | Windele's Miscellanea, p. 206 (1). |
| Fermanagh | | 1 | Enniskillen (Day Coll.) (1). |
| Monaghan | | 1 | Ballybay (Day Coll.) (1). |
| Galway | | 1 | R.I.A. W. 10 (Sirr Coll.) (1). |
| Roscommon | | 2 | Athlone, R.I.A. W. 5, and 1893: 4 (2). |
| Cavan | • | 2 | Newtown, R.I.A. 1884: 494 (1). Bailieborough (British Museum) (1). |
| Westmeath | • | 2 | Ross, R.I.A. 1896: 15 (1). Mullingar, R.I.A. 1884: 7 (1). |
| Kildare | | 4 | Dunfierth, R.I.A. W. 48, 9, and 15 (4). |
| Clare | • | 2 | Porsoon Callan, R.I.A. 1887: 52 (1). Proc. R.I.A., vol. viii., p. 83 (1). |
| Tipperary | | 1 | Glengall (British Museum) (1). |
| Kerry | • | 5 | Banmore, R.I.A. R. 1755, 1756, 1757 (3). R.I.A. Killarney, W. 2 (1). Mangerton (Brit. Mus.) (1). |
| Cork | • | 2 | Ballycotton (Brit. Mus.) (1), and one or perhaps two in Mr. Cliborn's Scrap-book in R.I.A. |

In addition to the foregoing, there are 14 in the collection of the R.I.A., 1 in the Belfast Museum, 5 in the British Museum, and about 5 in private collections, which are known to have been found in Ireland, but of which the localities have not been recorded.

ENGLAND (4).

Fridan (1). Padstow (2). Lessewill 1 Am. Fourth vol. xxii. 276.

WALES 1).

Limitish Museum) '1). Carriar Legit-

- TILAND (4).

Surris - near coulter (Anderson, vol. i. p. 222002). Lanatks...:-Att. entagram Anderson, vol. i., p. 222 1. Immitteestars. E charges (at Nat. Mus. Scot., p. 210) 1). Emmsilie.

FLENCE (6).

Sand-Potter Remach, Revue Celtique, 1900, p. 95). Côtes di N. S. Valogues (1) (Reinach, Revue Cel-Mancin

Montebourg (1) (Cong. Arch.

Sens Deinach, Revue Celtique, Vender

Ani. de France, 1905, p. 302) '1). Luxen. is the

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No. 1. Dunfierth, Carbury, Co. Kildare (W. 8. Wt. 2 oz. 5 dwt. 1 gr.). 1.



No. 2. Ireland—locality not recorded (R. 4024. Wt. 1 oz. 1 dwt. 1 gr.). 1

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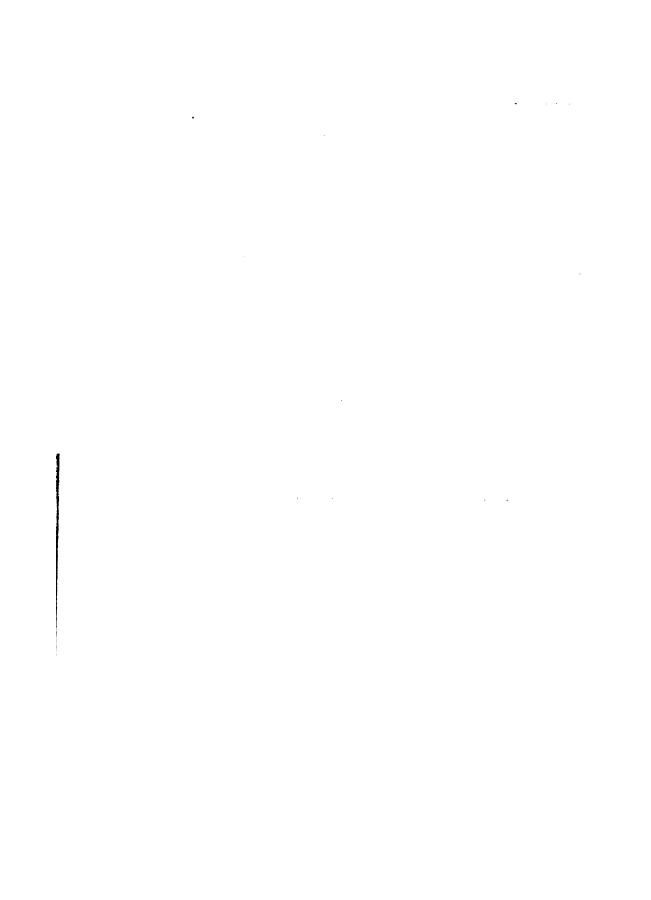


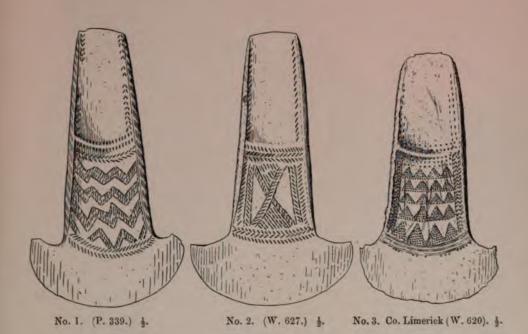
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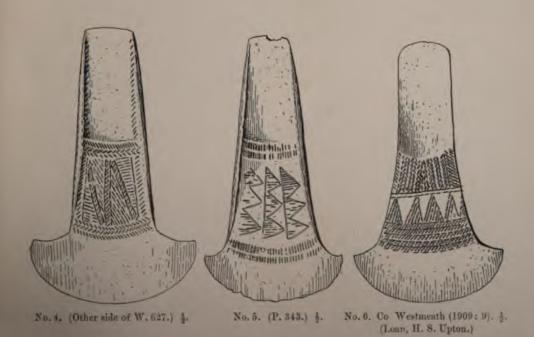


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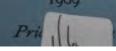
VOLUME XXVII, SECTION C, No. 11

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG

AT CLONBRIN, COUNTY LONGFORD



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XXV. (1904-5)

, XXVI. (1906-7) , XXVII. (Current Volume)

XI.

PREHISTORIC LEATHER SHIELD FOUND AT CLONBRIN, COUNTY LONGFORD.

PRESENTED TO THE ACADEMY BY COLONEL W. H. KING-HARMAN, D.L. BY E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, F.S.A.

PLATES XIII., XIV.

Read JANUARY 11. Ordered for Publication JANUARY 13. Published Feb. 22, 1909.

I WISH to place before the Academy an account of a remarkable leather shield found on June 5th of this year, at Clonbrin, County Longford. Mr. Coffey is adding a note on a most interesting and unexplained feature of the ornamentation on this and certain other shields from Northern Europe.

The leather shield (Plate XIII., fig. 1) was discovered by Alexander Fry, who came upon it when cutting turf, 9 feet below the level of the bog at Clonbrin. It was brought to the owner of the property, Col. W. H. King-Harman; and he, in an enlightened and generous manner, presented it to the Royal Irish Academy for their collection preserved in the National Museum.

The shield is made of a solid piece of leather, nearly \(\frac{1}{4} \) of an inch thick, and it was originally probably taken from the chest of a mature bull. It measures 20\(\frac{1}{2} \) inches in length and 19\(\frac{1}{2} \) inches across. It is furnished in the centre with an oblong boss, 7\(\frac{1}{2} \) inches by 5\(\frac{1}{2} \) inches, and about 2\(\frac{1}{2} \) inches in height. The boss has been pressed out of the leather, and has been covered by a cap, composed of somewhat finer leather than the body of the shield, laced on to the boss. It is possible that the pressing out of the leather to form the boss may have caused it to split, and that the cap was put on to cover this, or, as it appears to be made of finer leather, it may have formed a decorative element of the shield; the lacing is very ornamental.

Three ribs encircle the boss, the inner one is gapped on one side, and upon the same side, the remaining two have a curious angle. Small round bosses, about $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch from each other, are placed in sets of three between the ribs. There are in all twenty-four of these small bosses, and they recall those usual on the circular bronze shields. The edge of the shield is plain.

The back of the shield (Plate XIII., fig. 2), which is the marge side of the skin, is provided with a leather handle, unfortunately delay was laced on to each side of the back of the boss; on one side the last in the

R. I. A. PROC., VOL. XXVII., SECT. C.

handle, leaving a corresponding hole on the side of the boss; on the other the lacing has remained attached to the boss, and the aperture is in the handle. As can be noticed from the illustration (Plate XIII., fig. 2), the edge of the leather on each side of the handle has been stitched, possibly to contain an inside strengthening of wood.

In general appearance the shield resembles a circular bronze shield found at Bingen on the Rhine (Plate XIV., fig. 1), figured by Lindenschmit, while the disposition of a central boss surrounded by one gapped and two indented ribs recalls the slightly oblong bronze shield found in a bog at Halland, Sweden (Plate XIV., fig. 2), and the two bronze shields of similar shape found near Magdeburg, North Germany (Plate XIV., fig. 3).

The leather shield may also be compared with two other shields found in Ireland. The first (Plate XIV., fig. 5) is the fine circular bronze shield found near Lough Gur, County Limerick. This is a good example of the ordinary Bronze Age type of shield, with its central circular boss surrounded by numerous circles and small circular bosses. The second (Plate XIV., fig. 4) is the interesting alder-wood shield found 10 feet deep in a bog in 1863 at Annadale, County Leitrim, and presented to the Royal Irish Academy by William Slacke, Esq. The illustration is taken from a cast made soon after the shield was discovered and before it had shrunk to its present size. The cast measures 2 feet $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and 1 foot $\frac{4}{8}$ inches in breadth. It will be noted that in this example the boss as well as the shield is oblong, and that the ribs show an indentation upon one side of the boss.

The circular bronze shields of Upper and Western Europe, such as the Lough Gur shield (Plate XIV., fig. 5), have been usually placed in the Late Bronze Age, although no example has so far been found associated with objects of a character sufficient to fix the date. The oval shield is supposed to have succeeded this type, and may be taken as partly transitional in form to the oblong shield of South Europe. The oval shield from Halland (Plate XIV., fig. 2) (as appears from its ornamentation, a procession of birds) possibly belongs to the Hallstatt period.

It may be questioned whether the leather shield is complete in itself, and if so was it used as a weapon. It shows no signs of having had any supports of wood or other material at the back, nor is it apparent how the leather could have been attached to such a backing. I'rofessor W. Ridgeway's work, "The

¹ Lindenschmit, Alt. u. h. Vorz., Band I., Heft 11, Taf. i. Nos. 4 and 5.

² Lindenschmit, Alt. u. h. Vorz., Band III., Heft 7, Taf. ii. No. 3.

³ Lindenschmit, Alt. u. h. Vorz., Band III., Heft 7, Taf. ii. Nos. 1 and 2.

⁴ Proc. R.I.A., vol. i., 2nd ser., 1879, p. 155.

⁵ Proc. R.I.A., vol. viii., 1861-64, p. 488.

Early Age of Greece," contains a most important chapter on the use of the round shield, and in this he quotes a passage from Polybius, to the effect that, in old days, the Roman Equites were armed with round shields of bull's hide. The passage as quoted by Professor Ridgeway runs as follows:—

[The Roman Equites] "used to have shields of bull's hide, just like those round cakes, with a knob in the middle, used at sacrifices; they were useless at close quarters because they were flexible rather than firm; and when their leather shrunk and rotted from the rain, unserviceable as they were before, they then became entirely so. Wherefore, as experience showed them the uselessness of these, they lost no time in changing to the Greek fashion of armour."

In the same chapter, Professor Ridgeway gives it as his opinion that all the bronze shields of the round bossy type had backings of leather, leather linings having survived in some of the Etruscan bronze shields. It might therefore be urged that the Clonbrin shield was the leather lining of a bronze shield; but its slightly oblong shape, the thickness of the leather, the lacing on of the boss, and the turning of the coarse side of the skin to the back, all point against such a conclusion; and we are more probably right in considering the shield as complete in itself, but possibly copied from a metal shield, its repoussé ornament being somewhat characteristic of metal-decoration.

Mr. Coffey has kindly written the following note on the curious ornamentation of the shield, which I give in his words:—

"No attempt has, I believe, been made to explain the peculiar indentation of the ribs at one side of the oval shields of upper Europe. It is always assumed that the shield was held with the longer axis of the oval in an upright position, the indentation of the ribs being at one side. They are thus illustrated by Lindenschmit, Montelius, and Ridgeway. On careful examination, however, it is seen that the handle is not placed parallel to the line of the length of the shield, but transversely, or at right angles to the proper position as assumed in the drawings.

"This fact is not mentioned in the text of the plates, but may be noticed in the figures. These three shields appear to be the only examples of oval shields with indentations of the ribs at one side; and their oval shape is mainly optical, as the measurements will show, the Halland shield being 70·3 cm. by 67·7 cm., the two Magdeburg 71 cm. by 67 cm. and the Irish leather shield 52 cm. by 49 cm.

"From the shallow and unpractical nature of the handles, not suitable for a hand-grip, Lindenschmit is inclined to believe that these thin bronze shields

^{1 &}quot;The Early Age of Greece," chapter vi., pp. 468-9.

² Lindenschmit, Alt. u. h. Vorz., Band rn., Heft 7, Taf. ii.

^{2 &}quot;The Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times," p. 66.

⁴ Ridgeway, "Early Age of Greece," p. 457.

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Fig. 2.—Back.

ARMSTRONG-LEATHER SHIELD FROM CLONBEIN, Co. LONGFORD.

Fig. 1.-Front.

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Fig. 1.—Bronze Shield from Bingen. (Lindenschmit, Alt. u. h. Vorz., Band 1., Heft x1., Taf. i. Nos. 4 and 5.)



Fig. 2.—Bronze Shield found at Halland. (Lindenschmit, Alt. u. h. Vorz., Ban III., Heft 7, Taf. ii. No. 3.)

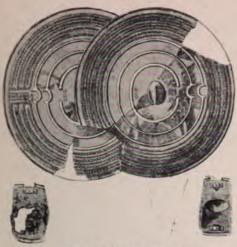


Fig. 3.—Bronze Shields from Magdeburg. (Lindenschmit, Alt. u. h. Vorz., Band III., Heft 7, Taf. ii. Nos. r and 2.)

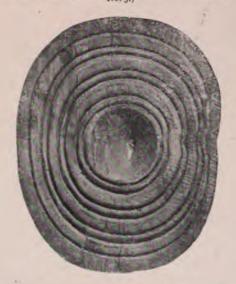
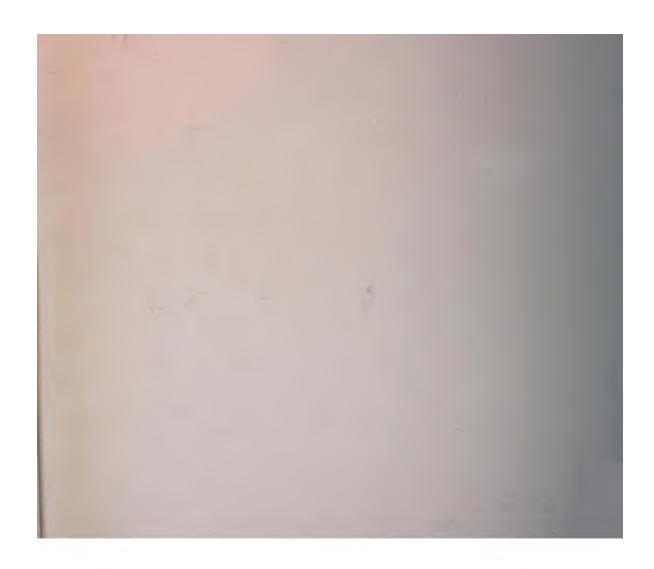


Fig. 4 .- Alder-wood Shield found in Co. Leitrim.









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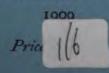
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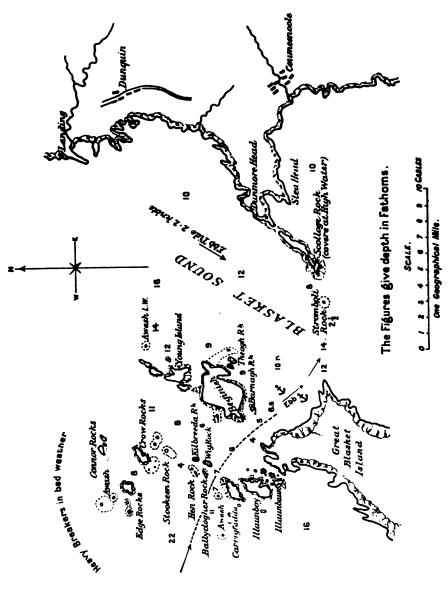
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XXVII. (Current Volume)





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XII.

ARMADA SHIPS ON THE KERRY COAST.

BY REV. WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD GREEN, C.B., M.A.

PLATE XV.

Read JANUARY 11. Ordered for Publication JANUARY 13. Published FEBRUARY 24, 1909.

On August 9th and 10th, in the year 1588, the remnant of the Spanish Armada, numbering about one hundred sail of all classes, passed the Orkneys into the Atlantic on their way back to Spain. They met with a series of cyclones; and for nearly a month were beating about the ocean, some two hundred miles west and north-west of Ireland. Many of those that approached the Irish coast were driven ashore and wrecked. Some were more fortunate and reached safe anchorages, whence they finally got back to Spain.

When searching documents for information regarding the wrecks of the Armada, I came across Captain Duro's collection of papers in "La Armada Invencible." These papers, which he was the first to publish, were found in the old library of Simancas in Spain. One of them, Captain Cuellar's letter, describing his stay in Ireland, has several times been translated into English, and is fairly well known. Another, which has, I think, never been done into English, I found most helpful. Its title, translated, is "Account of what happened to Marcos de Aramburu, Controller and Paymaster of the Galleons of Castille in the vice-flagship of those under his charge." His ship was the San Juan Bautista, of 750 tons, 24 guns, and 243 men. She had suffered much in the engagements with the English fleet, and, like many others, had lost anchor and cable off Gravelines when escaping from the fire-ships.

The narrative begins when the fleet was off Rockall, and ends with this ship's arrival in Spain. The extract which I quote deals only with events that happened on the Irish coast. The original contains many technical phrases difficult to interpret; for the translation I am indebted to Mr. William E. Purser, whose knowledge of Old Spanish was invaluable. I also derived much assistance from Dr. D. W. Freeman.

The vessel, on September 11th, is running south-east with a south-west wind, i.e. wind abeam, and certain islands are sighted. These may be the Ox and Cow, off Dursay, now called the Bull and Cow, or they may be the Quelms. These latter undoubtedly are the Skelligs, but I can find no derivation for the word. The Harbour of Vicey is a wild anchorage in the Blasket Sound. From the direction from which the Spaniards approached it, the entrance presents a fearful scene of breakers, thundering over rocks and sunken reefs; and considering they had no detailed charts, and that the tide causes the sea to break heavily where there are in reality no rocks, the passage was enough to try the nerves of the bravest. With regard to the name Vicey, Vick is an Irish diminutive; one of the larger Blasket Islands is still called Vickillaun. After first sighting the islands, the ship was driven north-west by a southerly gale; and when again they made land, on September 15th, they were to the north-west of the Blaskets, and running south with a westerly wind. I think it probable that the islands they first sighted were Teraght and Tooskert of the Blasket group, or the Skelligs-not the Bull and Cow, as otherwise it is difficult to understand how the ship could have been so far north, as stated, on the 13th. It is important to note that in 1588 the variation of the compass in these latitudes was 10° E.; now it is about 20° W.

The ship that our narrator met at sea was the San Juan, vice-flagship of the squadron of Portugal, 1050 tons, 50 guns, and (before the fighting) 500 men. She was commanded by Don Martinez de Recalde, Admiral of the whole Armada (the Duke of Medina Sidonia being Military Commander). Recalde, no doubt, knew the Kerry coast well, for some years previously he commanded the squadron that landed the unfortunate expedition which met its fate at Fort del Oro in Smerwick Harbour.

With these explanatory remarks, Aramburu may tell his own story.

On the 11th [of September], two hours before daybreak, going with a fresh south-west breeze on the south-east tack, land was sighted [not more than] a league off. As it was very murky and cloudy, some said these were the Drosey Islands, and others, those of the Quelms; . . . the pilot of the quarter-deck decided they were the Ox and Cow, eight leagues from the Cape. We tacked out to sea with the wind S.S.W., and kept sailing to the west. At 4 o'clock in the evening the wind began to freshen and the sea to get up. On the 12th we kept the same course out to sea. At 5 o'clock p.m. it began to blow from the south with such force that at night there was a most violent storm with a very wild sea and great darkness on account of the heavy clouds. The ship Trividad v sailing close to us, under foresail and mainsail; but after midnight w of her, though we showed her our lantern.

On the 18th, at daybreak, the wind went rapidly round to the north-west, and the sea began to go down. We were going south-east. On the 14th of the same month we kept the same course with the same wind. At noon we saw to leeward a big ship with a tender, about as far off as one could see. We gradually worked down on to her, and at nightfall were a league off, but could not follow her, as it was dark. We kept our lantern burning all night, that she might see us.

On the 15th, running south with the wind west, two hours before daybreak, we saw a vessel to windward of us, showing us light and going north, and another to leeward, which had no lantern burning.

We suspected they were the same as those of the [previous] evening, and that they were trying to get away from the land, of which we [too] were in dread. For what was wanting till day, we kept on the course we were going. When day broke, we saw ahead of us two large islands, and to port, in the east, the [main] land; and as we could not weather it, we turned to N.N.W. The two aforesaid vessels were coming along, moving off from it; and we recognized them as the flag-ship of Juan Martinez de Recalde and a tender.

We turned towards him, despairing, with the wind athwart, and we ignorant of the coast, of any remedy, and saw that being able to double one of the islands, towards another stretch of land, which he saw before him, he turned east. We stood to windward of her and followed, thinking he had some information. He kept approaching the land and ran into the port of Vicey, through an entrance between low rocks, about [as wide as] the length of a ship, and anchored. We came [in] behind her, and after [us] the tender. This was shown by a Scotchman whom he had on board his ship, whose vessel the Duke had taken. This day we saw another ship to leeward close to the land. [We must hope that] God will have been pleased to come to her aid, for she was in great danger.

On the 16th, Juan Martinez gave us two cables and an anchor; for we had nothing but the cable which was down, and I gave him an anchor of 30 cwt. which was no use to us, and of which he stood in the greatest need.

On the 17th, Juan Martinez sent a large boat with fifty arquebusiers to look out for a landing-place on the coast, to collect information, and to treat with the Irish for a supply of water, which was badly wanted, and of meat. They found nothing but steep cliffs on which the sea broke; and on the land some hundred arquebusiers were waving a white flag with a red cross [on it].

It is surmised that they were English, and that eight men whom Juan

¹ They evidently passed to the westward of Innish Tooskert, and, turning east, ran before the wind, close to the north of the islet of Carrigafadda, to the anchorage. Recalde, no doubt, selected this narrow passage in preference to the wide one between the islands and the mainland, because, with the wind westerly, he might have failed to luff up to the anchorage; and failure would have meant destruction on the cliffs to leeward.

² This was probably a ship that was reported lost in Tralee Bay.

Martinez sent on the 15th in a long boat to reconncitre were taken prisoners by them, or had perished in the sea.'

The 18th, 19th, and 20th, we remained in the same port without being able to get out. Juan Martinez went on taking in water; and I, having no long-boat or other boat, could do nothing; and he but little, and that with much labour.

On the morning of the 21st the wind began to blow from the west with terrible violence. [It was] clear, with but little rain.

The ship of Juan Martinez drifted down on ours. He dropped anchor with another cable, and, having smashed our lantern and the tackle on our mizzen-mast, brought the ship to. At midday the ship Santa Maria de la Rosa, of Martin de Villa Franca, came in by another entrance nearer the land, towards the northwest, and on coming in fired a gun, as if asking help, and another when further in.

She had all her sails torn to ribbons, except the foresail. She anchored with a single anchor, as she had no more. And as the tide, which was coming in from the south-east, beat against her stern, she held on till two o'clock, when it began to ebb, and at the turn she commenced drifting, about two splices of cable from us, and we with her; and in an instant we saw she was going to the bottom while trying to hoist the foresail, and immediately she went down with the whole crew, not a soul escaping—a most extraordinary and terrible occurrence. We were drifting down on her to our perdition.

It pleased our Lord that for that passage in case of such a necessity, we [had] put a [new] stock to an anchor which had [only] half a stock, and which Juan Martinez gave us with a cable.

We dropped [this] anchor and her head came round; and we hauled in the other anchor, and found the stock with half the shank, for the rest was broken [off], and the cable chafed by the rocks over which we were lying. The ship of Miguel de Aranivar also came in with this [ship].

The same evening at 4 o'clock the ship San Juan, of Fernando Horra, came in with the mainmast gone, and, on entering, the foresail was blown to threads; she let go anchor and brought to. Owing to the gale, it was impossible to communicate with or help her.

On the 22nd, in the morning, he lowered his long-boat, and made known his distressed condition. As it was seen to be hopeless, Juan Martinez decided that I should take the whole of the company of Gonzalo Melendez, and distributed that of Diego Bazan among the tenders. I urged him to leave, putting before him my distressed condition; and how, without a boat, I could not supply myself with water, while bread and other stores were being used up; to set fire to the ship and to start. He wished, as will be seen, to remove the guns from that [Horra's]

¹ These men were captured and taken prisoners to Dingle, where they were examined.

² This ship was vice-flagship of the Squadron of Guipuscon, 943 tons, 26 guns, 2

ship, and to make a special effort [to do so], which was quite impossible, as will be seen; and so he publicly gave me leave to go to Spain.

On the morning of the 28rd, we set out from Vicey with a light easterly wind; and on leaving the port, at a distance of about two cables, the wind dropped, while the current was carrying us on to the island, so that we were very near being lost. The wind got up again, and we went out with top-gallant-sails set, as far as the reefs which lie to the north; and there the wind fell calm again, while the tide was drifting us on to the land to the north, between four islands and the reefs.

We anchored before nightfall, with one spring, as we had no more; and an hour after nightfall the wind began to blow from the south-east, and the ship to drift on to the islands, which are so rocky that no one coming on to them could be saved. We brought the ship round with the spring, and, weighing anchor, set sail, commending ourselves to our Lord, not knowing whether there was any way out.

A desperate venture; with a dark and cloudy night, we tried to get out to windward of the reefs, but the current would not allow us; rather it was carrying us to our destruction. We turned and tried by an opening between the islands. The wind was freshening still more; there was a sea on, with heavy clouds and violent showers.

It pleased our Lady, to whom we commended ourselves, that we should get out, sailing all that night to the west, so that by morning we found ourselves eight leagues from land.

On the 24th, three hours after daybreak, a violent storm of wind from the same quarter burst on us, with frequent heavy showers, and a high sea. By the will of God it did not last more than two hours. We lay to, and suddenly the wind sprang round to the west; and as the heavy head sea caused the ship to labour a great deal, great damage was done. We could not set any sails till evening, when we did so with a moderate wind; and next day at dawn we found ourselves off the opening of the port by which we had got out, three leagues to sea, and [the weather] calm.

On the morning of the 25th, the wind began to blow from S.E. by south. We tacked to the west to avail ourselves of the wind to double Dursey Head. We sailed all that day and the night till next morning, [when] we judged we were ten leagues out to sea.

On the 26th, the wind chopped round to W.S.W. [and] south-west; and we kept sailing with a high wind and a heavy sea under press of canvas S.S.E., and sometimes south-east by a quarter south, till we thought Dursey Head had been doubled, and that we were fourteen leagues from it to the south.

¹ Taking advantage of the ebb tide, he tried to get out by the main southern entrance; but, with the flood, he had to turn and try the passages to north-west among the reefs.

On the 28th, in the morning, the wind shifted suddenly to south and S.S.W., and we changed our course to west and W.N.W. At midnight such a violent north-west gale got up with such a rough sea and heavy showers that our foresail was blown to ribbons, not a thread of it remaining. We lowered the maintop-sail, but were unable to furl it. The ship began to roll tremendously, in consequence of which the guns which were with the ballast shifted to port with the barrels and cables, and three seas struck us in the waist, so that we thought all was up with us. We got up a studding-sail on the fore-tackle, commending ourselves to God and His Blessed Mother. With this the ship began to get fairly under control; and so we remained for what was left of the night until the morning.

From the morning of the 29th, the wind began going down; and we sailed south till morning, when we set an old foresail which we got into order. At night the light wind slackened somewhat, and we sailed till morning south-east a quarter east.

All day we worked at righting the ship. The 80th, too, we employed ourselves in righting the ship. We got up the top-mast and made things ship-shape. It was calm up to nightfall, when the wind sprang round to the north-west; there was a gale all that night. Till morning we sailed south, without setting the main-top-sail, as it looked like bad weather, and, owing to the sickly state of the crew, [there would have been trouble] in case it had been necessary to take in sail.

While the tragedies above described were being enacted in the Blasket Sound, it is interesting to know what was going on on shore; and the Irish State Papers give us this information.

Mr. James Trant, the Government agent in the Dingle District, reports from Dunquin, to Sir Edward Denny in Tralee, of the great ships he saw riding at anchor between "the Ferriter's Great Island and the shore." He no doubt commanded the soldiers that tried to prevent Recalde from obtaining water; but he does not report what seems to be a fact, that Recalde took the water in spite of him. The crew of the first boat which Recalde sent ashore were taken prisoners to Dingle; and their evidence, which occupies many pages in the State Papers, describes the sad state in which the crews of the ships were. In Recalde's ship alone, 20 men were killed in the fighting, but 200 had died of disease; and at that time men were dying every day.

It may be noted in Aramburu's narration that the Santa Maria de la Rosa went down with all hands. This was not exactly true, for Mr. Trant's men captured one survivor, by name Antonia de Monana, who came ashore on some wreckage; he also was taken to Dingle. He said he was the pilot's

son, and mentioned many of the grandees who were on board; he also said that the ship contained 50,000 ducats in gold, an equal amount in silver, and a quantity of gold and silver plate. Besides this, she carried "50 great pieces, all cannons of the field; 25 pieces of brass and cast-iron belonging to the ship; there were also in her 50 tuns of sack."

Maria sink? The ships that first came in let go their anchors in the right place, between Beginish and the Great Blasket, on a sandy bottom. In the gales that followed they dragged their anchors in an easterly direction, and were finally anchored on rocks, probably about the ten-fathom line. The Santa Maria anchored near them, and must have dragged at least half way across the Sound; and probably, as the tide was then ebbing, she sank somewhere near the Stromboli Rock, which is marked on the Admiralty charts. That rock may then have been awash, though now there are two and a half fathoms on it at low water. It seems to have been smashed when H.M.S. Stromboli struck it some fifty years ago. Whatever treasure may have been in the other ship that sank (the San Juan, of Ragusa) was, no doubt, taken out of her by Recalde, who tried to salve her guns. I should say her wreck lies further to the westward than that of the Santa Maria, but the area in which they both undoubtedly lie is not an extensive one.

About seventy years ago the Blasket islanders fished up a small brass cannon, with a coat-of-arms on it bearing the device of an uprooted tree. It is preserved in Clonskeagh Castle, near Dublin.

For those who have time and means at their disposal this part of the Blasket Sound would be an interesting field for discovery.

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VOLUME XXVII, SECTION C, No. 13

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O'Donovan's visit. However, Hugh Brigdall, in his description of Co. Clare, about 1695, notes that yew and juniper abounded in Burren. On the shore of Galway Bay we have Rossalia, if the 'Ross' be not a point rather than a wood. Some writers mention the wood of Siudaine on the same shore, about Muckinish; but the old writers call it a camp or a place. The "Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh," a fourteenth-century history, shows that there were thick woods at more than one spot in the Turlough valley, to the south-east of the last. We hear twice of Dubh Gleann wood, or Coillanair, the wood of slaughter, at Deelin, in this glen, mentioned in a poem of about 1281, cited in the "Cathreim." Round Slieve Elva, we find evidence of an oak-forest at Derrynavahagh, near Lisdoonvarna, and of an ash-wood at Ballinshenmore, on



DIAGRAM OF THE COUNTY CLARE PARISHES.

The early maps, 1590-1610, show large masses of forests about Feakle; north of Killaloe; at Cratloe; from Kilmurry Mac Mahon up to Inagh and Kilnamona; and between Corofin and Inchicronan (see Hardiman, No. 63; Speed, &c.).

which that village is built; while another ash-name occurs at Gleninshin, in Kilcorney. The names Feenagh and Caherfeenagh show that the deep valley behind Rathborney was wooded; indeed, large ash-trees still grow in it near the great crescent of the stone fort of Lismacsheedy; while at the head of the pass above it is the ancient ring-wall of Caheranardurrish, which O'Donovan derives from "Ardross," the high wood. In 1094, when the Siol Muiredagh wasted Corcomroe and East Connaught, they slew many of their enemies in a desperate battle against Tadgh, son of Ruaidri O'Conor at Fidnagh. This

^{1 &}quot;Commonplace Book relating to Ireland" (MSS. Trinity College, Dublin, I. 1-2, p. 285).

² Annals of Ulster.

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February, 1909

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

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VOLUME XXVII, SECTION C, No. 12

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD GREEN

ARMADA SHIPS ON THE KERRY COAST



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Pria 16

implies a forest, for the rocks near it are named Furreera, not Furreesha More inland, Ballyculleeny implies 'holly-trees,' and Ardnacullia, 'a wood'; the English form of the latter, "Woodmount," is found near Ennistymon; Derrynakeilla is found in Kiltoraght. Caheraderry is named as Cahiridarum in 1189 in the charter, granted by King Donald O'Brien to Clare Abbey. The subsequent allusions are merely incidental, the most striking being that where the Four Masters tell us in 1573 how "the wolves of the forest" to the south of Lehinch rejoiced over the bodies of the O'Briens slain there in the frontal attack on the hill near Beal an chip.

In 1655 good timber was found—in Clooney 247 acres, and Kilmanaheen 62 acres. Round Kilfenora lay abundant dwarf wood (557 acres), which also was found in Kilmanaheen (119 acres) and Kilshanny (162 acres), but only 10 acres lay in Kilmacreehy, and 65 acres of shrubbery in Clooney. About 309 acres of timber trees, and 900 of dwarf trees and shrubs, or 1220 acres in all. Most of the land was in pasture, and some in tillage. In the low ground at Kilmanaheen "Currough pastures, full of rushes and overgrown gutters," were then, as now, a characteristic.

Little is recorded of the eighteenth century; but, in 1808, Hely Dutton's inquiries for the Statistical Survey inform us that, in Burren, a small farmer named Ready had about twenty years before brought seedling ash-trees and quickens from Dublin. These trees had greatly improved, though in bare, craggy ground. The country about Ennistymon was entirely stripped of trees by 1808. But Michael Daly, a reputed centenarian, who died in 1796, remembered woods of full-grown oak and ash covering that district. Since then the MacNamaras have planted the pretty glen round their house along the cascades of the Inagh river. Similarly, the O'Briens, despite its exposed site, have planted the ridge on which Ballinalacken Castle stands, with much success: and the late Dr. W. H. Stacpoole Westropp planted the glen near the Spectacle Bridge, and other spots at Lisdoonvarna. A neglected plantation on the eastern slope of Slieve Elva and abundant flourishing woods at Gragans, Ballyallaban, and Ballyvaughan, in Glenaraga, with abundance of hawthorn woods behind Ballinalacken, and tall hazel thickets at Poulacarran and Kilcorney, show that much might be done to afforest even the apparently most hopeless part of Clare.

(5) Inchiquin.—In this barony we find, especially round its beautiful

¹ Journal Roy. Soc. Ant., vol. xxii., p 78. "Kandridarum" is evidently intended for Kaheridarum. We only have it in a poor seventeenth-century copy, MSS. Trinity College Library, F. i., 15. The forests at the various places are given to the Abbey.

² The Civil Survey of Clanmorris, Barony of Kerry, defines its usage of this term as "a gutter or running spring" (page 2).

³ Statistical Survey of Co. Clare, p. 269.

small woods, we find in Kilnaboy, 711 acres; in Rath, 23; in Dysert, 433; and in Kilnamona, 134, with 1,300 acres of shrubbery—in all 3,400 acres.

SOUTH-WESTERN CLARE.

- (6) ISLANDS.—We now go southward to the west of the River Fergus. Beginning at that river, we find, in the barony of Islands, oak-names at Derrygarve in Kilmaley and Derrynacragga, and Darragh in Killone, and traces of osieries in the names of Willowbank and Drumcliffe, the Drumleb of the Papal Taxation of 1302. Mac Grath mentions the woods of Forbair, now Furroor, and "the green-oaked, spreading-boughed, clear-streamed Drumgrencha," the ridge of Edenvale and Rockmount, in which lurked the clan Turlough, till destiny gave their foes Mahon and his army into their hands at Clare Abbey, followed by the sack of Ennis and the fearful massacre of the captives in the bog of Moinnasaed, in 1278. These woods were, however, nearly cleared away by 1655. Killone had then 60 acres of shrubs, probably at Edenvale; Clare Abbey parish had 17 acres of dwarf wood; Drumcliffe had 103 acres of good timber, much shrubby crag and dwarf timber, covering 1,220 acres; while, further south, Clondegad had only 2 acres of wood and 165 of shrubbery. If we are not pressing too far the formal phraseology of King Donald's charter to Clare Abbey in 1189, Kellonia, Kilbreakin, Dromore, and Inchicronan, in central Clare, were granted with their woods to the monks—"campis et nemoribus."
- (7) IBRICKAN, lying along the Atlantic, has more tree-names than might be expected. The country at Quilty must have been wooded when the name was first established; the bogs are full of stumps; but we can hardly suppose our nomenclature goes so far back. There were also oak-woods, as at Derreen, Knockdarragh (oak-hill), and Derryard (high oak-wood), near Doonbeg. Enlagh, though the name may mean "boundary," may, like its more southern namesake, imply the former existence of a "bili," an ancient and venerated tree. We have, however, no documentary evidence of any early form of the name. The places on the northern border named Freagh and Freaghavalleen show that then, as now, it was covered with heathery moors. In 1655 Killard was devoid of woods; shrubberies were found in Kilfarboy (32 acres) and Kilmurry Ibrickan (158 acres): to this day the barony is equally bare, save at a few of the houses of the gentry, where trees grow behind the shelter of walls or in stream glens. Indeed, for nearly twenty miles inland, trees, and even the sturdy hawthorns, bend eastward, "turning their backs on the sea."

¹ That townland was formed of portions of Killone, Killmorane, and Cahercalla, and got its present name about 1778 when purchased by the Stacpooles.

MOYARTA.—This barony is nearly treeless; but Bellia suggests a "bili" or venerated tree,¹ while Emlagh is called "mbili" an evident tree-name, not a "border," in the "1390" O'Brien's rental. Furroor, Garraun, and Kilclogher are found, if indeed the latter be "coill" (a wood), not "cil" (a church), "of the shelter." It is Oillin Clochair and Kilbaha. Cill Beiteh in "1390," Kilbeagh, 1655, and Killbehagh in "1675" suggest a birch-name. In the 1655 Survey we only find 178 acres of shrubs in the seaward parishes, and 1 acre of dwarf trees at Kilrush. In Kilmacduan there were 197 acres of wood, 27 of old trees, and 30 of shrubs.

(8) CLONDERLAW.—Turning back we go up the banks of the Shannon and Fergus. We might expect more tree-names; but they are as scarce as along the sea. We have a Durha, Knockerra (Cnoc Doire, 1599, in the Annals of the Four Masters) near Kilrush, suggesting ancient oaks; but no other evidence till, in the names Derrybrick, Derreen, Derrynalecka, and Knockaderreen, in Kilmurry Mac Mahon parish, and Derryshaan in Kilfiddane, we find ourselves on the site of an old forest.3 Kilmihil gives us Derrycrossaun, and the parishes up the Fergus Derrylea alone. But Hugh Brigdall, about 1695, alludes to "firrtrees on the Islands of the Shannon." The district above Killadysert was called Tuathnafarna (Toanefeorny, in Perrott's deed, 1585), from the alder, and there was a Deerygeeha in the barony, held by Sir Teige Mac Mahon of Clonderlaw in 1629.5 In fact, the barony was only slightly wooded in 1655; it had 701 acres of timber trees, 341 of old trees, and 304 of new plantations, with 324 of shrubbery-in all 1670 acres. Kilfeddan parish, despite its wood-suggesting name, had hardly 200 acres of plantations. Of the lesser "trees" there was a Trummer (elder) Island in the Fergus, belonging to the last parish. This completes the western and larger portion of Clare; and we cross the Fergus into the eastern " half."

EASTERN CLARE.

(9) When we examine the eastern half of Clare, we get abundant evidence of the forests that once covered its surface, and that despite of its having been an important centre of civilization and population in early times. Here and in Inchiquin we find crowds of dolmens and forts, including some of the most important of the latter, several early monasteries of note, and abundance of churches and castles.

¹ Dr. Joyce: "Irish Names of Places," series i., p. 483.

² So Mr. James Frost: "Place-Names of Clare," p. 42.

³ Shown on Elizabethan maps, Hardiman collection, T. C. D.

[&]quot; Commonplace Book relating to Ireland," p. 235.

⁵ Inquisition, Charles I.

AUGHTY.—We first must disregard the modern baronies in order to note the enormous oak forest that, even in the fourteenth century and certainly down to Tudor times,¹ ran round the flanks of Aughty, and covered the lower slopes of its hills from Crusheen and Inchicronan lake eastward. The districts in which the "Derry" names are crowded are as a rule devoid of forts, dolmens, castles, and churches, and so were probably from the earliest times to the fifteenth century uninhabited woodland. We record some fifty such names: Derrynagleera, Derrynacrogg, Derryvet, Derryvinnaun, Derrygoul, Derryhumma, Derryskeagh, Derryfadda, Derrynacaheny, Derrymore, Derrybeg, and Durra lie in Inchicronan; which parish, in 1655, had 500 acres of



THE OAK FOREST OF AUGHTY, CO. CLARE.

timber and 200 of young plantations. In Clooney all the large timber had then vanished, but 200 acres of dwarf wood still subsisted; the parish has the names of Derrycaliff, Derryvoagh, Derryheena, Derryboy, Derrynagullion, Derrynalane, Derrynaskeagh, Derrylush, and Derrycrannagh, besides such names as Cnocfuarcoill (cold wood hill, now wrongly "Spancel Hill"), and Cranagher (branchy spot). The oak-names continue in Tulla barony and parish. We find there three Derryulks, Derrynabrone, Derrynacloghy,

¹ See Hardiman, Maps, T.C.D., 2, 63, 82.

² See Dr. Joyce: "Irish Names of Places," Part 11., p. 247.

Derrykeadgran, Derrinterriff, Derrymore, and Derrybeg, besides Kylemore and the wood of Kyleduff.1 Feakle parish, the ancient Tuath Eachtge, must also have been thickly wooded: Derryfadda, Derrynaveagh, Derrycanna, Derreendooagh, Derricnaw, Killaneena (ivy wood), Cloonagro (hazel field), Knockbeha (birch hill), Ross and Rossanure, Crossderry, two Derrynagittaghs, Derryabbert, Derryvinna, Derryeaghra, Derrynaneal, Derrybehagh (of the birch), Derrygravaun, Derrynaheila, Derrywillin, and a fourth Derryulk, remain to attest this.2 The Cathreim mentions these woods several times, as, in 1277, when the Mac Namaras hide from King Brian Ruadh in "Echtge's dense woods of lofty foliage pleasant and fresh"; while "Echtge's woody deep-valed fastnesses" are named in 1318. They were, on several other occasions, places of refuge during the long and precarious civil wars, as fortune turned the scale against either side, and both parties of combatants found a friend in the great wood of Aughty. There is a long reach in the more eastern parishes nearly free from such names. Kilnoe, in fact, had hardly 100 acres of shrubs in 1655; and the hills near Coolreagh were then boggy and bare; while Tulla had 1150 acres of woods and 34 of shrubs; Feakle, 1400 acres of timber woods, and Tomgraney 700 of timber and 300 of shrubs, the last lying along Lough Derg and the River Graney. Mac Grath, in the "Cathreim," with his keen-eyed perception of nature and scenery, did not forget the shrubs on the shores of "Lough Derg, deepfringed with bush and bough," in his account of King Torlough's raid into Limerick and Tipperary in about 1286. Oak-names occur in Tomgraney, at Gortaderry (Gurtadurra locally), Derrymore, and Derrywalter; two Derrorans and Derrycon, in Iniscaltra, and Derryany and Derrain in Clonrush; the demesne of Derrymore, in Kilnoe, lies at a considerable distance from the hills. In 1655 there were some 700 acres of plantation in Iniscaltra, but none (nor any shrubby lands) are named as in Moynoe, while Kilnoe, as we stated, had no timber and but little shrubbery. A birch-name, Corbehagh, is found in Feakle.

(10) Bunratty Upper.—Having disposed of the northern part of the Upper Barony of Bunratty, we can examine the rest of its evidence more briefly. Some interesting names of lesser plants occur, like Drominacknew (the little ridge of garlick), Gortapisheen, or Peafield, and Gortnamearacaun, wrongly translated Thimbletown, but really the field of the fairies' thimbles, or foxgloves, "which spread their purple banners" on every fence

1 Kilmore and Kilduff on the Ordnance Survey Maps.

The Surveys of 1655 and 1675 hardly give us a "derry" name in the district. Mr. James Frost ("County Clare Irish Local Names," pp. 29, 30) gives the meanings; but, as the names are there usually taken from local pronunciation, not from early records, we have little confidence in the results.

But turning to our subject of the trees, we find not a few and fort. represented—a venerated tree may have grown at Kilvilly, near Inchicronan Lake. Knocksalla is from the sallows, the two Cullenaghs from the holly, a Cullenagh fort, near Quin, is named in 1543, in one of the Hardiman Deeds'; the rarer arbutus is commemorated at Feaghquin (Faywhinny locally), the well-known Quin (Cuinchë in 1112, Quinhy locally), with its fine convent and Norman castle, its church and peel-tower. Mr. M. J. McEnery² first unearthed from the Desmond Survey a most interesting notice of this most beautiful shrub, under the name "Crankany" (crainn Caithne). Though not referring to the actual Shannon valley, we cannot refrain from giving the extract to a wider circle of readers. The entry in 1584 relates to Killarney and other lands of Rory the "O'Donougho moore, a rebel and of high-treason attainted," and, after enumerating the well-known Rosse or Rosidonough, Kyllarny, Ennesfallen, Mockeruss, &c., it turns to the wood of Kyllonaughte: "A great part of these woods consist of oak-trees great & small: but there are other woods and underwoods in the island of Loghleane & elsewhere in the islands, where grow certain trees called Crankany, which bear fruit every month throughout the entire year. This fruit is sweet, the size of a small damson, & of little value, except for its beautiful appearance, & there also grow there many yew-trees otherwise 'ewe-trees,' good for making bows, as is said." As we see, all three trees were found in ancient Clare.

In 1651, Ludlow passed by the woods near Inchicronan on his advance to Limerick; finding his way stopped by Conor O'Brien of Lemeneagh "in a pass leading to some woods," he routed the Irish, mortally wounding their leader. The oak was found at Curraderra in Kilraghtis, Derry in Templemaley, and Durra in Inchicronan; wood-names at Knocknacullia in Clooney, Creevagh near Quin (so called at least as early as 1543), and Ballykilty, the Ballyquilty of the grant of 1666, under the Act of Settlement. The district once contained a "bili," or sacred tree, used as a place of inauguration of the Dalcassian princes of Thomond. Perhaps from the time of their conquest of the district by A.D. 377, at least from before 877, when Flan Sunagh, king of Cashel, invaded Thomond and played in bravado a game of chess on the green of Magh Adhair, the very place of inauguration5—a game unfinished by the assault of the indignant local king Lorcan and his ally Sioda, ancestor of the MacNamaras. The "bili" was cut down by Malachy, the Ard Righ of Ireland, in 982, and "its roots dug out of the earth," an act remembered and avenged by king Brian Boru when he deposed Malachy. The succeeding

¹ Trans. R.I.A., xv.

² He published a translation in Journal Roy. Soc. Antiquaries (Ireland), xxxvi., p. 433.

² Desmond Roll, m. 76d. ⁴ Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i., p. 358.

⁵ Proc. R.I.A., 31d Ser. iv., p. 58.

tree was destroyed in 1051 by Aed, king of Connaught, and, in its turn, avenged by the destruction of Grianan Aileach by king Donald, at the dawn of the Norman conquest. We hear of no other tree; but the place was used for inaugurations down to Tudor times; and the old name "Moyri," retained in 1655, is still found as "Moyar's Park," near the mound and pillar. A well, sheltered by ash-trees, as we so often find in Clare, was named Tobernafhuinsion, and formed the northern bound of the lands of the Norman colony in 1276; it was a place of conference with the O'Briens, and is named also in the Norman documents. Macgrath calls it "pasture-girt Tiobra na huinsean"; the Pipe Roll of 1299² names Tobernafonch and Letton (Latoon) as adjoining lands: so it probably lay near Castlefergus: the only ash-name now known to me in the parish is Bearnafunshin.

An order was made, September 20th, 1653, ordering "Capt. Stearne to cut from any adjacent woods timber to repair certain" castles in this district, such as Ralahine, Cloghenabeg, Danginnybracke, Bryan's Castle, and Inchicronan, besides those of Inchiquin, Dysert, and Smithstown (the last perhaps in Corcomroe).

In 1655, the barony had in all 1042 acres of wood, 260 of new plantations, 548 of dwarf trees, and 954 of shrubs; of these, besides the parishes already given, we add Templemaley, 95 acres of wood; Kilraghtis, 235; and Tomfinlough, 112 acres; Doora had 165 of dwarf wood; Tomfinlough, 178; while Quin had 488 of shrubbery and no large timber recorded.

(11) Bunratty Lower.—The names are fewer in this barony, and the history very meagre: the oldest recorded wood-name is Feenish Island, the Fidh Inis of the Life of St. Senan, about 540. There is also a Dernish (Oak Island) near the last. Clonmoney is Cluan munighi in a deed of the Mac Shanes in 1573; but in other documents of equal age it is Cluain-muineach or Shrubbery-plain. Rossmanagher, the old residence of the D'Esterres, was probably a wood. Feenagh and Ardkyle are the Fudach of 1302, and Ardchill of 1287, and Ardcoill in a deed of the Mulconrys in 1548,4 and mark the sites of ancient woods; there were 248 acres of wood in the former in 1655.

The well-known Cratloe Wood still lives in Kilfintinan. It was of old renown: the army of King Murchad "of the Leather Coats," in 940, found it Cretshallach, the worst pass during their "circuit of Ireland." It is alleged that its timber was used for the roof of Westminster Hall,

¹ Tuanomoyre, 1584, Castle List. Tuanamoree, 1655, Down Survey Map.

² xxvii Ed. I., No. 26. ³ Diocese of Killaloe, Canon Philip Dwyer, p. 313.

⁴ Hardiman, Deeds, xxiii. Trans. R. I. Acad., xv., p. 62. It mentions the woods, underwoods, and unreclaimed tracts of "Magherabelna aba," near Rossmuincher. The last is Rossmuinecar in the next deed (xxiv) of the same year.

because spiders did not make their webs on Irish timber: our Science section reports differently. We have grants of oaks from Cratellauch to Godfrey Luttrel in 1215; and it was sold to Philip Marc, four years later for 20 ounces of gold. Prince Murchad O'Brien, after his useless conference with Richard de Clare at Limerick in 1318, traversed "the Cratalachs—thick, sheltering, fruitful-branched, mast-abounding woods": and his remote descendant Conor O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, in 1536 (alarmed by the taking of Carrigogunnell Castle, and the threatened advance of Lord Grey), felled its trees across the passes to stop the English. or at least their cannon, from entering his domains. Mac Grath, in the above-cited passage of 1318, mentions "hazel woody Ballymulcashel," as appropriate after six centuries at that time. In 1420, O'Huidhrin speaks of the "yewy plain" of the Ui Bloid, which possibly extended into this barony. We will notice the corroborative name Killuran later in this paper.

There are, of course, numerous old documents referring to woods in this part of Clare, but we only select the more explicit. Many grants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mention timber and shrubs; but the mere citation would help us little in trying to get definite ideas on the Clare forests. The 1655 Survey shows little evidence of the Cratloe woods being then of importance. There were only 75 acres 2 roods of timber trees and 365 acres of dwarf wood in Kilfinaghty; 65 acres of woody mountain with 114 of shrubs in Kilfintenan, and 212 in Killeely; while the mountains of Kilquane and St. Munchin's parishes were bare and heathy. In 1680 Thomas Dyneley's sketches show us, as we might expect, shrubbery, but rarely even detached trees of any size. In 1752 Dr. Pococke noted the plantations of Mr. Burton and Sir Edward O'Brien, as he came through Quin from Moyreisk and past Sixmilebridge; he writes:—"The ride from this place to Limerick is very delightful, being well wooded and in sight of the fine river Shannon." The O'Briens kept up the woodland character of their beautiful demesne of Dromoland; Sir Edward O'Brien alone planted 30 acres in 1806, chiefly those larch "screens" that were so cruelly "reaped" by the great gale of 1903. Cratloe Wood covered 180 acres in the year 1808.

(12) THE TULLA BARONIES.—We have dealt with the northern parts of Tulla Upper, and now turn to the more level country. A wood called Coilldruinge is mentioned in the Cathreim in 1279, as lying near Fortanne

¹ The apparent holly-name, Ballycullen, is shown by the same author to be a personal or family name, Baile Ui Cuilen, in 1311.

² Pococke's "Tour in Ireland in 1752" (Rev. Dr. G. T. Stokes), pp. 111, 112. "Statistical Survey of Clare" (Hely Dutton), pp. 272, 273. Lady Chatterton describes the Cratice Woods in her "Rambles in the South of Ireland" (1839), pp. 170-173.

(Fertain), where Donall, brother of King Torlough, fell upon Thomas de Clare's army, and put them into fearful confusion. "They first converted their front into a hustling, pushing rear, and then faced about their rear and made a front of it, and so, before the unhappy wretches began to run, they were all turned end for end the wrong way"; as Donall, like a hawk, swooped into their midst. Kilgorey, Coill ghuaire, Guary's Wood, was in 1311 the field of another fierce battle between Prince Murchad O'Brien and the Ui Bloid. Of other names we note Rosslara and Creevosheedy bogl as woodsites, and Ardskeagh, the old name of Broadford, as commemorating a hawthorn. Lismeehan or Maryfort was well planted when, on March 25, 1788, it was leased by Ralph and John Westropp of Attyflin to Thomas Gabbett. "Whereas" (runs the lease)2 "there is now standing, growing, and being on the said demesne and premises a large quantity of ash, oak, and other timber," Gabbett is empowered to cut down and dispose of the same; the place was replanted by George O'Callaghan in the years about 1840; and no older timber seems to remain there. At Ballinahinch and Kilbarron, we have an early notice of destruction of trees in 1634 (1635). Therlagh O'Brien, High Sheriff of Clare, was found by Inquisition to have wasted the woods of Manogullen, taking five great oaks in the same and Kilwarren' (Kilbaron) for making Irish hutches, and sold the same in Galway, also thirty pieces for rafters to Piers Creagh of Limerick, timber for Gilladuff Molony's house, forty ash trees and 100 young oak "saplings, cut down, lying on his ground, for what use we know not," in February, 1630. He let a kitchen, stable, bakehouse, and four other structures, all of couples, fall down at Ballinahinch, and pulled down four timber houses at Kilwarren and Managullen, and let Donnell Mac Namara of Ballinahinch, the King's ward, go to Mass, having been appointed his guardian.

A bush-name attached to a fort, "Liskeheenanodri," the fort of the little (thorn) bush of the sods, on the hill of Coolreaghbegg, is named in a partition deed of Matthew and Thady O'Brien of Coolreagh in 1736. The trees and woods in the adjoining district of Cinel Dungaley were granted by Henry, son of Hugh O'Grady, to Conor O'Brien in 1586.

(13) In the Lower Barony we again find evidence of extensive oakforests—Derrynaveagh, Keelderry, two Killaderrys near Broadford, Derryvinnaun, Coolderry, Knockaderreen, and Barnanderreen, the last in Ross;

¹ From a Sioda or Sheeda Mac Namara, perhaps the chief who restored Quin Abbey in 1402.

² Dublin Registry, B. 408, p. 92. ³ No. 129 of Inqs. Car. I.

⁴ In possession of Col. George O'Callaghan Westropp, of Coolreagh, with a most interesting mass of papers of friendly "Protestant discoveries," made for the O'Briens by their trustees, the Drews and Westropps, to save the O'Brien's lands from less disinterested actions.

⁵ Hardiman, Deed xxx.

Oakfield (if old), and Derryfadda, lying in nearly every case on the slopes of the Slieve Bernagh hills. There is a yew-tree name at Killuran, the Kelldubirayn of the Papal Taxation of 1302, Kilhurayn in 1407, and Kylleibaran in 1405 in the Calendars of Papal documents. A "greenwood" named Kyleglas is found in Killokennedy. Even in 1655 there remained 2976 acres of forest, and 1650 of dwarf woods; but the upper parts of Craglea and the hills over Killaloe were open and heathy; and slate quarries had already been opened in them. There were woods round Clonlara and shrubberies in Doonass. Killokennedy parish, in the wildest recess of Slieve Bernagh, had about 700 acres of wood, the rest being mountain pasture; the oak wood of Derryarget had been all cut away, but there were 5 acres in Killuran newly planted, Keilderry, in Kilseily, retained 45 acres of the wood from which it derived its name. The woods of Doon, near Broadford, were planted by Captain Massy, and those of Caher by Mr. O'Hara before 1808.

The plainland had very little timber; Clonlea and Kilmurry only 26 acres of timber at Mountallon, and 430 acres of shrubs, usually "stony ground, with little thickets of brushwood intermixed"; there was a dwarf wood near Ballycullen Castle, on the east slope of Slieve Bernagh, and other woods in the rough mountain uplands.

In the eastern part of Clare, the Dalcassians often found refuge from the Danes before 964; "they dispersed themselves over the forests and woods of the three tribes," Ui Bloid, Ui Caisin, and Ui Thoirdhealbhaigh; "the woods, solitudes, deserts, and caves of Ui Blait," "on the hard, knotty, wet roots of the trees," says the book of "The Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill." Far later, in 1646, when Admiral Penn, the father of the great Quaker of Pennsylvania, endeavoured to hold Bunratty for the Parliament, he chased the Irish army out of the camp at Sixmilebridge into the woods and hills, killing Captain MacGrath, their leader.

The "Cathreim" gives a picturesque description of Prince Murchad O'Brien's attempt to bring off the Ui Bloid cattle spoil, along the Shannon bank, in 1314, which ended in the disastrous battle of the Callow and the extermination of nearly all his band, he only escaping in a corrach, across the river, leading his swimming horse. The terrified cattle, when not swept away by streams, stampeded and got lost in the woods, through which the raiders passed. The "Callow" probably lay near O'Brien's Bridge—certainly below Killaloe.

O'Huidhrin, before 1420, alludes to the woods in Hy Torlough, "near unto Flannan's Celldalua, their lands and woods extend to the Shannon."

As to the names between Slieve Bernagh and the Shannon, we find Garraun (thicket) to the south of Clonlara; and a now-forgotten Derryanlangfort

was held by Donogh Mac Namara in 1633, apparently near Trough. The Four Masters record the plundering bands of O'Briens as hiding in the woods and hills near Killaloe in 1602, when the country was evidently thickly wooded.

The elaborate confirmation of estates to Donogh, "the Great Earl" of Thomond, in 1620, grants in each barony "the castles, messuages, tofts, mills, gardens, orehards, crofts, lands, meadows, pastures, woods, underwoods, furze, briars, rushes, marshes, alder groves, fisheries, lakes, weirs," &c. It is strange that the alder, which figures but little in local names, should be singled out for mention alone among trees.

(14) Dyneley, in 1680, shows in his views the flanks of Slieve Bernagh and the country from Mount Ievers out to Bunratty, in the valley of the Owennagarna, thickly covered by woods and thickets. One wood, that of the Oil Mills, near Sixmilebridge, alone is named. These mills subsisted and were leased to Dean Bindon by Henry Earl of Thomond in 1730.¹ The other sketches show a very bare country in 1680; only a few trees round Ralahine and Clare Castles and shrubberies at Ballinagard (or Paradise) Hill across the Fergus are shown. He names orchards round Rossroe Castle; and those of the district out to Sixmilebridge were famed for their choice cider even after 1820; indeed, even some thirty years ago, I remember very good cider made in the neighbourhood. Mac Grath names an "apple-fruitful" district between Quin and the Fergus in 1318.

The old orchard "Sean-abhallghort," near Clonmoney, appears with lands in a covenant between William Mac Shane O'Fearghal and Con Mac Namara of Aillveg in 1573; and orchards are named in various deeds of the seventeenth century.

With numerous occasional allusions to the apples of this district, I find and may give as an example a lease of Norcott D'Esterre to Frederick Loyd, 17th January, 1798, Carruane, except the wood of Bunratty, reserving two backloads of keeping apples yearly and 200 good apples per week.²

We occasionally come across evidence bearing on the destruction of the forests. In deepening the River Graney above Scariff, in 1893, I noticed large quantities of iron slag in the bed of the stream. The only record that may bear on this is in the "Commonplace Book relating to Ireland," p. 239, where Hugh Brigdall's description, about 1695, says: "The River of Scariff, whose waters drive two iron Mills." Whether, however, this refers to the machinery or the materials worked in the mills, I do not attempt to assert. Dr. Bindon Blood Stoney informs me that he has seen a large mass of vitrified material and the remains of iron works between Tinneranna, on the

shore of Lough Derg, and Killaloe. Tradition seems to have forgotten such works; but they account for the destruction of the trees between Scariff and Lough O'Grady. In 1727 Thomas Baker had a tanyard at Rossroe, which probably was equally destructive to the surviving oak trees of the district. That same year Sir Edward O'Brien of Dromoland granted the timber and underwood of Crattelaghkeale for six years to John Scott. This possibly levelled the last old timber of the last remnant of this great forest. On the other face of Slieve Bernagh, a bad custom prevailed (it is a striking fact that it falls almost exactly in the same decade of the eighteenth century) which cleared away the woods of the beautiful valley at the southern end of Lough Derg, where that great lake narrows into the outflow of the Shannon.3 When a son of the Purdon family was about to marry, his father settled the timber of certain townlands on the prospective wife and children. The woods were then cut, sold, and the money invested. I have met with two such deeds, of which unfortunately I seem to have kept no note. Anotherperhaps one of those named—is cited by Simon Purdon of Tinneranna in his will in 1721. The settlement of his son George, by which Simon gave him £3,000 worth of timber on certain lands, reserving that on Island Coskora, is first named. Then the testator, by a codicil of the same date as his will,3 28th February, 1720 (1721), charges the lands and woods of Aghnish and Carhugare, giving them in mortgage for £500 to Richard Harrison, to whom Purdon had given also those of Ballyorly for £500, for the uses of the will; but if his son George pays off both charges, the grants shall have no effect.

¹ Dublin Registry, Book 54, p. 413, Book 81, No. 37049.

² De Latocnaye, in his "Promenade dans l'Irlande," 1797, names no woods on these hills, only stating that they were covered with turf at Glenomera.

³ Prerogative Wills, P.R.O.I.

(15) ABSTRACT OF ACREAGE OF WOODS, 1655.

It only remains to give a table, compiled from the Book of Distribution, 1655, showing briefly the total amount in acres of trees and shrubbery in Clare in that year:—

Burren.—Oughtmama, W. 132, S. 272; Carran, W. 327, S. 166; Dromcreehy, W. 200, S. 350; Gleninagh, S. 225; Abbey, S. 357. Total, Wood, 659; Shrubs, 2,000.

CORCOMROE.—Kilfenora, D. 557; Clooney, W. 247; S. 65; Kilmanaheen, W. 62; D. 119; Kilshanny, D. 162; Kilmacreehy, S, 10. Total, Wood, 309; Dwarf, 848; Shrubs, 65.

IBRICKAN.—Kilfarboy, S. 32; Kilmurry, S. 158. Total, Shrubs, 190.

Moyarta.—Kilrush, W. 1, S. 47; Kilfieragh, S. 14; Moyferta, S. 107; Kilmaeduan, W. 197, O. 27, S. 30. Total, Wood, 198; Old, 27; Shrubs, 198.

CLONDERALAW.—Kilchrist, W. 188, Y. 25, S. 50; Killadysert, W. 257, Y. 233, O. 8, S. 166; Kilfiddane, W. 155, Y. 46, O. 46, S. 2; Kilmurry, W. 20, S. 62, O. 106; Killoffin, W. 61, O. 29, S. 28; Killimer, W. 61, O. 29, S. 16; Kilmihill, O. 42. Total, Wood, 701; Young Wood, 304; Old, 361 Shrubs, 324.

ISLANDS.—Drumcliff, W. 104, D. 1220; Killone, S. 60; Clondegad, W. 2, S. 165; Clare Abbey, D. 17. Total, Wood, 106; Dwarf, 1,237; Shrub, 225.

Inchiquin.—Kilkeedy, W. 2100; Kilnaboy, S. 711; Rath, S. 23; Dysert, S. 433; Kilnamonagh, S. 134. Total, Wood, 2,100; Shrub, 1,301.

Bunratty Upper.—Inchicronan, W. 500, Y. 200; Clooney, D. 200; Kilraghtis, W. 235, Y.60; Templemaley, W. 95, S. 178; Doora, D. 165; Quin, S. 488; Tomfinlough, W. 112, D. 178. Total, Wood, 1,042; Young, 260; Dwarf, 548; Shrub, 954.

Bunratty Lower.—Kilnasoola, D. 62; Clonloghan, S. 143; Feenagh, S. 248; Kilfintinan, W. 65, S. 114; Kileely, W. 243; D. 495 N. 20; Kilfinaghta, W. 140, D. 365; Kilmurrynegall, D. 150. Total, Wood, 448; Dwarf, 1072; Shrubs, 505; New Wood, 20.

Tulla Upper.—Tulla, W. 1,150, D. 34; Kilnoe, D. 76, S. 39; Tomgraney, W. 700, S. 273; Feakle, W., 1,222, D. 26; Iniskaltra, W. 570. Total, Wood 3,642; Dwarf, 136; Shrubs, 312.

Tulla Lower—Ogonello, W. 485; Killaloe, W. 814, D. 12; Killuran, W. 304, D. 10; Kilseily, W. 350, D. 163; Clonlea, W. 26, D. 286; Killokennedy, W. 615, D. 109; Kiltinanlea, W. 408, D. 983. Total, Wood, 3002; Dwarf, 1,563.

Total of Clare—Wood, 12,200; Dwarf Wood, 5,404; Old Wood, 388; New, 584; Shrubs, 6,074. In all about 24,656 acres planted.

COUNTY LIMERICK.

(16) This county differs from Clare in being a fairly level plain, intersected by rivers; of these the Mulkeare, Maigue, Deel, and Feale run northward to the Shannon. The Cammoge, the Morning Star, and the Lubagh run westward to the Maigue. The second is the ancient Saimer, "the shining one," corruptly "Caimer," the Morning Star. This corruption is found in the Civil Survey of 1655 as Kuavier and Caumire; the real name is akin to Samara and other non-Irish rivers of the ancient world.

Large masses of mountain lie at the eastern corners of the county; the Silvermine mountains or Slieve Felim lie to the north-east. They are dominated by the Keeper, "Kimalta," 2,278 feet high, many of the other hills being over 1,200 feet high. To the south-west lies the fine range of the Galtees, many of the peaks over 2,500 feet high, and Galteemore rising on the border of the county to a height of 3,015 feet. The western border has the Slieve Luachra range, mostly low and tame, only reaching the height of 1,137 feet at Knockanimpaha, and rarely exceeding 1,000 feet above the sea. In the middle of the county lies the long sandstone ridge of Knockfeirina and its spurs. In contrast also to Clare, Limerick is rich in detailed records, and comparatively poor in place-names. In both counties the Annals are nearly devoid of helpful entries.

The early romance of "Mesca Ulad" presupposes dense forests in the districts. The Ulidian charioteers pass Lough Gur on the right, ford the Maigue, and reach Cliumailmacugaine and Deisebeg, the territory of ('uroi, son of Daire; "the iron wheels of their chariots cut the roots of the immense trees." Cuchullin ascends Drum Collchailli at Aine, and is then able to say where they were, as if the view was hidden when on the plains, from which nowadays the hills are visible in every direction. They then advance to Temair, on the slopes of eastern Luchair, somewhere near Abbeyfeale.2 Two druids on the rampart of the fort see strange objects through the gloom and fog; one supposes them to be "the gigantic oaks" they had passed on the previous day; but the other recognizes them as armed men, who come "past the trees of Ir-Luchair from the east." "Oaks of dark woods o'er forests thick," "trees of hill-tops with hardy strength," are all named as in south-western Co. Limerick. The inserted poem, later on, names the black bog and wood in "Luachair of many hills"; and the Elizabethan Surveys and Maps corroborate the local colour of the venerable myth by showing the valleys of "Sle Logher" wooded even in 1586.

¹ Dr. Joyce, "Irish Names of Places," second series, p. 455, "Cillnarath as the Saimir runs from it," John's Charter to Magio Abbey (1185-1199).

^{*} As we endeavoured to show in these pages, vol. xxvi. (e), p. 62.

In the early tenth century our next document of any fullness, "The Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," unfortunately only seems to mention "the rough-furzed country" in one place; but even this may refer to the Ui Thoirdhealbhaigh or Hy Turlough, near Killaloe, which certainly suits The "Agallamh," or Discourse of St. Patrick with the Finnian hero, Caeilte-an early source in which we might have expected information, from its topographical intention and sympathy with scenery and nature-gives us hardly a hint worth noting. It brings the saint into the mountains of south-eastern Limerick, and alludes to "the great hills and moors and woods." We see the great stags, the green tulachs, whence "the grey one of three antlers" was hunted; the sodded forts, Duntrileague with its enclosed pillar-stones; but the only particular allusion to the trees of the region is, at best, one to a "hardened holly javelin." Similarly, in the elaborate itinerary of the Saint along eastern and north-eastern Co. Limerick, and over the same district as in the "Agallamh," save that he did not cross Slieve Luachra or the Shannon, not a single allusion to woods is found.2 The "Cathreim," in describing the raid of King Turlough down eastern Co. Limerick, mentions "high-hilled, many-wooded Uaithne," or Owneybeg; but, even in 1286, Aestrimaige, the Norman "Estermoy," in the Maigue valley, and eastward, was "well grassed, with many dwellings," evidently cleared land. The notices of woods in the Tudor State Papers, the Pacata Hibernia, and the Elizabethan Inquisitions call for mere passing notice, as they sink into insignificance before the elaborate details in the Survey of the Desmond Roll. The Pacata, indeed, seems to mention definitely only the woods of Kilquoig and Kilmore on the eastern border.

Before 1420 Giollananaomh O Huidhrin wrote a well-known topographical poem which has many allusions to the present Co. Limerick and its trees. We hear of the "wooded lands" of Luachair and Clenlish (Claonghlais), the fruit-trees of Uaithne and Ui Chonaill Gabhra, and the "sweetest, smooth round apples" of the latter; the trees of Deisbeag or small county, and the "beautiful woods" of Corcaoiche not far from Newcastle.

The existing names derived from trees are not numerous. We get in Clanwilliam Barony the oak-names of Derreen, Derryhasna, and Derryhisk, near Castleconnell, and a hollywood site at Kylecullen in Ludden. Strange to say, no such forest-names occur in Owney, though 2,500 acres of woodland lay in Abbeyowney parish alone so late as 1655. The "Cathreim," after its mention of the many woods there, speaks of the "open, level plain" around

¹ Translation of Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady's "Silva Gadelica," 11., p. 129.

¹ Tripartite " Life of St. Patrick" (Rolls series).

³ Topographical Poem.

Cahirconlish, and the "blue streams" round Grian; but alludes to no other forests passed on the march. The Civil Survey of 1655 shows that, far later, dense forests lay all along Slieve Phelim; some 2,600 acres of forest in Doon and Castletowncoonagh, and nearly as much along the hills near Glenstall. The surveyors, as usual, seem to give the forests as on the slopes and lower hills, the waste uplands being evidently treeless.

(17) Except an allusion in Lisnacullia and the orchard-name Oola (Uibhla in the "Cathreim," in some copies), we have no noteworthy names in Coonagh. Small County has Kilderry and Gortnaskagh. The Inquisition, on the death of Thomas fitz Maurice ("an Appagh") FitzGerald, gives the first "Kyldere" in Glenogra manor in 1298. Coshmagh has Derryvinnaun, Ballyculleeny (of holly), and Creevebeg, if the last be a wood-name. The forests on the hillslopes of Coshlea have left little trace. The parish of Darragh was called Darrach-muchua, at least as early as in Prince John's charter to the monks of Magio in 1185-1199. It and the townlands Darraghbeg and More mark an old oak forest. Kylegreana, and, perhaps, Emlygrennan, commemorate a wood, and perhaps a "bili" or venerated old tree, if the Ordnance Survey Letters are right as to the form being "mbhili Groidhnin" (Grynin's tree), but it is already Imelach Dregingi in the Magio Charter and all other ancient documents known to me. Farther eastward, Lackendarragh and the parish of Kilbeheney mark the oak and birch as having grown in those glens; the last was Kylmyhyn in 1347, and Coillbeithne in 1502.4

(18) THE MAIGUE VALLEY, with its ancient residences and tribes, was possibly comparatively cleared land, even in pre-Christian times. An occasional name like Derryvinnane or Adare (the Oak ford) is perhaps as much as we should expect to find in it. Still, it is easy to be misled, for there were about 1,300 acres of wood and shrubbery in Adare, Croom, and Athlacca parishes in 1655. A century later, in 1752, Dr. Pococke notes none of the woods in Co. Limerick; Mr. Bury's fine plantations at Shannon Grove, in Kerry, with an orchard and "syder-house," are alone mentioned.

Similarly, in Pubblebrian, we only find hawthorn bushes named at Skehanagh and Crecora (locally Crayhoorah, fragrant-boughed bush). The oak is named at Derryknockane and at Kilderry, the hazel at Barnakyle. At the opposite side of the Maigue, and, though a shrub, we may give the gooseberry at Lisnasprunane near Adare (for the baronies and parishes no longer cross the wider tidal river below Adare); Kenry barony only gives us a "little oak-wood," Derreen in Kilcornan and the doubtful name Tinacullia,

¹ Civil Survey, vols. xxx., xxxi.

³ Proc. R.I.A., xxv. (c), p. 428.

⁵ Civil Survey, xxiv.

² O. S. L., Limerick.

⁴ Gormanston Reg. and Ann. Four Masters.

⁶ Pococke's "Tour in Ireland," p. 115.

and this despite there being in 1655 some 1,300 acres of wood, shrubs, and woody bog between Kildimo, Curragh, and Adare, while some large trees grew round Castletown Castle. We notice another trace of thickets in the name "Scart"; non-apparent in Co. Clare, it names townlands in Clanwilliam near Cahernarry and Derrygalvan, and others at Nantinan in Connello, and Kilteely in Coonagh. There is a Scarteen (little thicket) in Coshlea.

(19) CONNELLO.—It is only when we reach the four baronies into which the ancient Connello is now divided, that we realize to the full the disappointing scarcity of forest- and tree-names in the county. Perhaps from the great abundance of the woods, the wild mass was not apportioned or inhabited; and the general wood-names, like Coillmór, were too extensive for use among those who cleared and settled on the destroyed forest of Slieve Luachra. The blackthorn bush (sloe) gave its name to Dreenagh in Connello Upper, the whitethorn to Skehanagh in the lower barony, while a thicket at Kyletaun near Rathkeale, and perhaps one at Garranboy, an ancient tree at Altavilla, an elm grove² at Loghill (corrupt form for Leamcoill, Laemchaill in the Visitation of Meyler fitz Henry in 1201), the birch at Kilbehy and a lost wood at the earth fort that preceded Lisnacullia Castle, where 86 acres of shrubs alone remained in 1655, have impressed their memory on the placenames: Kerrykyle, Killaculleen (of holly), Moneymohill, and perhaps Ballynakill, Garryduff on Barna Hill, and another Loghill near Grange carry on the names of vanished plantations round Newcastle West. In 1655 there were nearly 3,700 acres forested in all Connello. Woods most abounded in Clonelty and round Rathkeale; the large timber had been cleared off Mahoonagh, Corcomohide, Killagholegan, and Abbeyfeale; but shrubberies abounded in the first three parishes and in those extending to Foynes. Remarkable advance had certainly been made in clearing the woods extant in 1580; in some cases the ironstone quarries enable us to account for the destruction.

In GLENQUIN barony we find the last traces of the great oak-woods, alluded to in the Mesca Ulad, at Darrery, Knockaderry, and Glendarragh³; in Shanid barony we find Durnish (oak island) near Foynes. Killcoorha, seems to mean "fragrant wood"; but it really is a map-corruption of the old name Cilconroe still in use on the spot. We have, however, a Clooncooravane and Gortnaskeehy in Killeedy.

Shanid barony yields Tinnakilla, if it be not derived from the kyle or graveyard near the dolmen and pillar. The Plea Rolls give a few early names

¹ Locally, however, rendered "yellow garden," but possibly "Garran," a shrubbery.

² Leamh also means a marsh mallow, but the "coill" practically decides the question.

³ The Daar River is "Abhainn na Darach" (of the oaks). Dr. Joyce's "Irish Names of Places," series 1., p. 484,

of oaks and trees: 1296, Dermaho (Darrachmochua) Derakyn (in Corkmoyth, Athdare; 1296, Darigalvan and Kylgrene (with Lisgrene), probably a wood; 1321, Skaghmorlan, possibly near Croom; 1323 Kyllynte, a plea about trees in same, between W. Lercedekene with David Beaver and Alianor le Blound (White), &c.

THE WOODS IN 1583.

(20) We have cast the Limerick portion of this paper on different lines from those followed in Clare. There, as far as possible, we included all historic side-lights and names with our only, but full, early survey under the map-divisions. Here we keep together the remarkable mass of facts contained in the great surveys of the confiscated estates taken after the rebellion and death of the unfortunate Gerald, Earl of Desmond, the main surveys being the Desmond Roll of 1583, and that of Christopher Peyton, compiled three years later. Peyton' premises that a cantred contains thirty villata, each capable of sustaining 300 cows. Munster (excluding Tomow, Clare, or North Munster) had seventy cantreds. He unfortunately, in his elaborate statements about the woods, gives us no definite measure of their extent. Condensing his notes—SMALL COUNTY had woods, or underwoods, at Crean and Glenogra. Pubblebrian had Kilballyregan and Kyllcloghe woods, with a salmon fishery at the latter, in Cloughytacka. In CLANWILLIAM were certain valueless underwoods at Corbally, near Limerick city, and woods at Templenemounda, which was waste (21). Courtbrake Manor, between Mungret and Limerick, had a wood or underwood called "lez shrubs." In OWNEY barony, or Wony Mulrian, Bealruffhin wood is named. COONAGE had woods, underwoods, and timber trees at Kyledromelare in Grene, and Kyllduff wood in Asgrenan in Arra (241). In COSMAYE we find Kylnegloghe wood, and that of Ballinfroyne at Aeylacka, and Beabus near Adare (233, 177). In the Toghe of BRUREE we find the Maigue Valley was then well wooded and with underwoods. There were "several trees named Ashe" at Cloneferty, Ballyfowken, Ballynowrane, and Palmerston; Lysshenaconnoe on the Maigue was waste and very well wooded (37-39). Cossetterouge, the country round Kilmallock, was cleared (236), but there were woods at Kilfynney near that place, and also at Scortnageeragh. KENRY or Kenry Hurragh (of Curragh) had good woods and underwoods, with timber trees at Curragh and seven other woods adjoining. The chief of these were named Kyllkenry and Bellaghnecranney. There were fisheries on the Maigue and Shannon, which seem to have gone with these woods in the old tenure.

¹ Public Record Office, Dublin.

(21) Connello, being the chief patrimony of the Earl, is treated exhaustively in the Surveys. In the case of the other baronies only small portions were forfeited; and we have no security that we can get any wide view of their condition. In the Toghe of Clonhennery (round Castletown, now called "Conyers," but once "Ballincastelane MacEnery"), Corkemohur had oak and ash: so had Beallaghan Ulley, Gortroo, Cappanenanta, and Cappaghneaghan. There were other woods at Gortincappaghquin, Cragne-kerrelagh, and Kyllehallagh. Dyrreallen still retained its oak wood. Other woods were found at Kilwarren, seven miles west from Kilmallock, Mulloharde, Gurtenrynneholagh, Molloharde in Kyllmyde (Kilmeedy), and Muskrynownan (41, 50); in short, all the lands through this division down to the Cork border, where they ran into the great wood of Kilmore, abounded in timber and underwoods. Later in the book is also named a wood at Pallice in the district (237).

(22) In Tawnagh Toghe (Mahoonagh) there were divers parcels of woods in Meane, Mohonagh, Dyrren, and Kylbreden, ten woods in all. The forests were thick along the southern borders. Clenless (or Cleanglas) had five more woods; there was an aerie of goshawks in Glanemurlane. Hawking must have appealed to the Commissioners to find place for such an entry in the confiscation of half a province. There were woods at Culshonekyne, Leaughbeg, Ballintubber, and Dromdewyn in Killedy, and one named Cowlecappagh in Tawnagh (243-6).

The district round the hill of Knockferina, though lying in several divisions, may be taken together. There were woods at Lysemoto Castle; Bodestocke, now Woodstock, which had three; Gortnefohe or Gorteneghe (see 212); Ballygylletagle, Kyll-Glantannanetonnagha, Ballygreanan and Ballyneale, with woods and underwoods at Liskennet, and three at Bally-kearan and Kyllyscappalassawre. Knockfearinhy itself was waste, save for a quarry of stones (56-66). There were woods and underwoods in Croagh parish, at Croagh itself, Kylltennan, Dyrrenegawyg, near the last, Kyllvargey, Kyllpursell, Kylladame, all very well wooded, and Park-Omogan and Ballinwryg (66-71). A forest called Glanoore lay from Clonshire to Rower, and enabled the troops of the Sugan Earl some years later (1599) to ambuscade the Earl of Essex and his force on their way to relieve Askeaton Castle. The Clonshire woods are mentioned several times, and others at Cragbeg and Cappagh Castle, which rears its lofty, shattered tower beside the railway near Ballingrane (177-233).

Nantinan parish (its name recalling the nettle) was better cleared. There were some trees at Ardgowlebeg, and a wood at Beliacullenagh. Evidently hollies predominated there, as oaks did at Dyrrenegawnyg. Two more woods

lay at Cloghatred, Inchmoore, and Kyllcroye. Strange to say, the Commissioners were unable to find if the lands were inhabited 71-80).

(23) THE DEEL VALLEY.—We now reach the lower valley of the Deel, and the strongest castle and one of the chief manors of the Desmonds at Askeaton, the ancient Iniskefty, which name is used for the last time in the Inquisitions of this date. The Park of Kylgulbane, Farrencaheragh, Moynerly, Knockderry, and other woods lay round the village. Ballyengland or Ballyinglanna (now Castle Hewson) was then, as now, a thickly wooded glen. The wood was called Kyllmoore; while an oak coppice near the Deel was appropriately named Derry-Shandyrrey; the Islets of Ilan e Woghuill, or the Bays Island and Islangore, or Goat Island, were covered with brushwood. There were several other thickets in the parish and on the border of Lismakeery, where small patches abounded, several in each townland (80-87).

KILBRADRAN.—In the Toghe of Drynan, in this parish, lay certain underwoods, and the forest of Ballynedyrrey, probably of caks. Three woods lay at Arloman and Ballyany, the first being named Beallaballygwoll, "the bellagh of the coales," which probably refers to the charcoal-burners, who doubtless took a heavy part in stripping the country (9). Six woods lay between Dunmoylin Castle and that at Monemoghill, over the edge of the low green hills towards Luachra. There were nine little parcels of plantation near Teermoore, and others at Lismacken, Morgans, Kancally, Foynes Island, and Durenyshe. Belldyrrigg-verry, once an oak-wood, was then treeless; so was Kilcosgrave; but why the emphatic statements are made in these cases is not clear. There was a wood at Leath, in Ballylawras, near Robertstown, not far from Foynes; and two in Boherbradagh, which doubtless sheltered the robbers that gave that place its name.

(24) Shanid and Glin.—The oldest manor of the Geraldines lay farther west; and along the Shannon their territory extended to the still more western castle of Glin or Glancarbry. Olybane, the name now lost, lay in Kilcolman, near Shanid, with five woods, and underwoods and thickets; Bealdorroo wood Kyllolebane, with a quarry for building-stone and one for millstones (66). An underwood lay in Killbegg, near Logheill, in the Glin district.

The lands round Shanid itself were clear, save a (possibly holly) wood at Kyllnekullenaghe, and one at Ballyhaell (99). Near Glin lay the woods of Kylltollogeasse, Bellanecullena (holly), Killkeynarde, and five others (105). Corgragg Manor, near Foynes, had woods, and "growing underwoods" at Dunmoylen; while Aughinish Island had divers woods and underwoods. Shanegoule or Shanagolden was also wooded. Other woods and underwoods were on Aughinish Island. Glancorbry and Killeany, in the last, is again

noted, "una ayeria accipetrum sup bosc' de Killeyney, vocat Goshawks." Evidently such aeries were rare and valuable even in 1586.

RATHKEALE AND NEWCASTLE.—We continue our notes on the upper reach of the Deel Valley before turning to the mountains of Luachra. In Rathkeale parish lay a large forest with the proportionate name of Kyllbally-mynteryroerke (Ballywinteryworkwood at present), or Beallalyvolloke. There were others at Droomen or Ballywillen and Droomearde; but the woods and underwoods near Rathkeale had been entirely destroyed (66–70). Clonelty parish had woods at Ballino and Ballywolhan; while there were others at Garranglossok and Cappagh-Edmond, near Rathkeale (237–242).

In Farrensesseragh, at Ballyegny, and back to Rathkeale were ten woods; but some consisted of a number of detached groves. The Toghe of Meaghan. in Rathronan parish, had four woods, with a thicket in Dedanes. An ironstone mine is mentioned, works at which, of course, rapidly cleared away the timber in the neighbourhood. Nearly every townland had thickets; and Matrasscourt Manor (210), Ballygonan, and Ballylondyrrigg had woods (164). A forest lay at Crosbullog near Ardagh.

(25) Newcastle Manor and Gortcoyth (the ancient Corcaoiche) had much timber; three woods at Kilrean, four at Ballyduff, five and two mines in Rathkaell, eight and a mine at Slieve Glantan—for we are now on the slopes of the hills in whose forests one of the most romantic episodes of the Desmonds' history occurred. Thomas, Earl of Desmond, got benighted when hunting in the hills to "the west of Newcastle," and, sheltering in the hut of a vassal, saw, loved, and married a peasant bride, which cost him his earldom, and sent him to die, after two years' exile, to Rouen in 1418.

SLIEVE LUACHRA.—The glens of Glanskeigh, Glanmaggan, Glannacapparda, and another glen in these hills, were deep in forests; and four woods lay in Glenquin, or Glannowhinn, itself (122-132). "In Glannowhynn, in Sleloghre, lay Knocknageeragh, alias the Sheepe's Hill woode," and six others in Glanskeigh (177). The forests were endless here in 1586. There were four along the face of the hills; three near Gortocullen; thickets, and two mines of ironstone in Grannaghe, and others, with similar mines, at Ballynenagh. There were thick woods at Glan Astaregh (Glenastaar), Lynebrannagh, Corraclae, Ballypierce, or Ballyferris, called the Pierces' Wood; and thickets and ironstone mines in many other places. But we find the beginnings of clearing wherever a village or mine is named (112).

Newcastle, or Castleno, itself had divers woods and underwoods. One formed the castle park, and was named En Parrick; while five gardens had timber, and Cullenagh, an ancient holly-wood, adjoined the castle grounds. Travellers between Limerick and Kerry know well that beautiful view from the railway as it curves round Barna Hill, overlooking the whole northern part of Co. Limerick, out to Cork, Tipperary, and Clare, from the Galtees to Aughty. There were eight forests here in 1586, spread over Barna itself, and the glens of Glanbane and Kyllhealnaglan. One of these woods covered at least four quarters of land. Six others lay along the hilly western edge of Kilcolman, near Shanid (102); and five with a mine and a fishery at the brook, Gayley, lay near Templeclee (Athea) (121). Portrinard manor and castle, the successor of Curoi's fortress of Tara Luachra, had woods extending from Athea to the Feal river (170). Dyrren Maymoore had also a notable forest, probably of oak-trees, near Templeclee (174).

There were twelve parcels of plantation between Graunsha or New-grange and the hills. I find them vaguely located, save that of Glendalough on the flank of the hills. It was evidently a large oak-wood (144). Another lay at Ballyrala (236). Knockamony in Templeglanton, and Caherlawerr near it, had wood; at the last was a mine of some unspecified mineral. Kyllconeleye on Slieve Glanton had two forests, with underwoods, called Lackekyll, Coyneleye, and Beall Anegall (174A).

KILLEEDY.—Next to Glannowhinn lay the manor of Killydye; it had three forests in Glandowell and other woods in Kyllerogh. No less than sixteen woods are named round Kyntogher, running on towards Newcastle. Ballyquirke wood in Monagay, or Monaghadair; Glananurlare wood, with a third "Ayeria accipetrum vocat Goshawkes," and three others are named (133-143). The Survey ascends the valleys near Clenlishe, with the wood of Seveneclonlese, Lisnesallagh (fort of the sallow trees) and ten specified woods, making vague mention of many others with timber trees and an ironstone mine. A wood covered three quarters of land and sixty acres in Glandavoure, Glannecappagh, and the neighbourhood, with six other woods, divers unspecified woods, underwoods, and thickets, some underwoods of twenty acres, thirds of woods with thickets, giving, despite the vague details, a clear impression of the weary commissioners and their staff breaking down in their attempt to record the endless leafy wilderness of glens and stream valleys, verdant hills, and lonely forests in the heart of Slieve Luachra.

THE WOODS IN 1665.

(26) Some seventy years, pregnant with change, had passed away; twice civil wars had swept over the land; the last ended with the fall of Limerick in 1651. Now was to be commenced a greater confiscation than even that of 1586, and up-to-date surveys were required. As we adopted Peyton for our basis of the survey in the reign of Elizabeth, so now we

ake the Civil Survey¹ as more authoritative than the Down Survey, using he latter as we used the Desmond Roll and Inquisition on the former ccasion as a side-light on the chosen survey. We, however, can only ive a most condensed abstract from the Civil Survey to close our paper, or its record is, of course, a small one compared with that of 1586 before he woods suffered from the energy of the new colony, and the great lieve Luachra forest had virtually disappeared in the interim. The result hows that there were 4,500 acres of timber, 8,100 of shrubs, and about 600 of underwood subsisting in 1655, or 12,586 acres in all.



DIAGRAM OF COUNTY LIMERICK.

ORCHARDS.—Before tabulating the results, we may give a list of the rehards then subsisting, of which elsewhere we get, for both Clare and limerick, only most scattered details. They usually lay near the castles. The following are named:—

COSMAY.—Rathcannan, Bruff, Ballygrennane, Craggane, Croom, Caher-Assey, Tullyovyne, Fanningstown, Tworin (Castle Ievers), Monasteranenye. Pubblebrien.—Ballinvealla, Graige, Millick. Liberties.—Garran Ikey,

Newcastle, Tooreene, Drombanny (2), Annaghrostie, Caher Ivally, Reboge, and many near Corbally, Creagh's orchard on the rampire, Comyn's orchard. Clanwilliam.—Whitestown (Ballyneety), Kissiquirke, Ballyvornane, Bohirgane (2). Keney.—Islandmore. Connello.—Newcastle, Cloneshire (2). Castlematrix, Ballyallinane, Cloghnarold. The list is very probably imperfect, as orchards were common in the city and its liberties; for example, in 1557, Piers, son of Patrick Long, got a decree in Chancery, establishing him in seven orchards and two gardens in Limerick; and such mention is very common during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Limerick and Clare.

ABSTRACT OF ACREAGE OF WOODS, 1655.

(27) (T. Timber; U. underwood; S. shrubs; S. W. shrubby wood).

CLANWILLIAM (vol. xxi.)—Stradbally, U. 100; Killicknagariff, U. 85, T. 20 (in Knockanbane); Clonkeen, U. 100; Carkinlish, U, 40, T. 60; Abhieowhnie. U. 680, T. 60. Total, U. 965, T. 140.

Connello (vol. xxii.).—Newcastle, S. 70; general list of Timber Woods, 354; Grangie, S. 71; Mahoonagh, S. 264; Killidie, S. 110, T. 75; Monegaie, S. 215 (no shrubs or timber given as remaining in Abbeyfeale); U. Corkamohyde, &c., S. and S. W. 125; Brurie, S. 80; Cluoniecarha, S. W. 200; Killfiny, S. 55; Croagh, S. 335; Cloneshire, S. 20; Kappagh, S. 25; Rathkeyle, S. 515; Doondonnell, S. 20; Nantannan, S. 220; Asketton, S. 20; LismcKirrey, S. 190; Morganes, W. 50; Killbradran, S. 40, W. 30; Cloineagh, S. 85 (chiefly at Lisnacullia); Killscannell, S. 70; Ardagh, S. 10; Rathronane, S. 60; Doonemoilleen, &c., S. 45; Shanagolden, S. 5; Killmeallane, S. 138; Robertstown, S. 195. Total, T. 509, S. 3,082.

CUONAGH (vol. xxiii.)—Doone, T. 2,380; Castletowne, T. 240 (no woods given, as in the plains). Total, T. 2,620.

Cosmay (vol. xxiv.)—Aghleakagh, S. 230; Crome, 668; Adare, S. 297; Doonemeane, S. 92. Total, S. 1,287.

COSTLEA (vol. xxv.).—Galbally, S. 194; Ballingarry, W. 6; Darragh, S. 90. (The mountains had no shrubs or woods). Total, S. 284, W. 6.

Kenry (vol. xxvi.).—Ardcanny, S. 20; Kildymo, S. W. 548, T. 62, W. 132; Kilcornane, S. 143, S. 410; Iveruss, T. 2; Aghdare, S. 137. Total, T. 196, S. 848.

¹ Connello is now divided into four baronies, including Shanid and Glenquin.

Westropp—Forests of the Counties of the Lower Shannon Valley. 299

(Vols. xxvii. and xxviii. contain the City of Limerick and Kilmallock.)

LIBERTIES (vol. xxix.).—Stradbally, S. 31; Castleconnell Manor, T. 400; Killicknegaruffe, S. 75; Kilmurry, S. W. 62 (all at Castle Troy); Derrygalvane, S. 60; Carrickparson, S. W. 22; Caher Ivahally, S. 60; St. Michael's, S. 5; St. Nicholas', S. 8; Cnocknegaule, S. 17; St. Patrick's, S. 5. Total, T. 400, S. 346.

OWGHNIE (vol. xxx.).—Abbeowhnie, U. 1,250, T. 480 (chiefly round Glenstall and Keapanewke), T. 40 (at Cullenagh); Killmoelane, U. 26; Tuogh, T. 130, U. 120. Total, T. 650; U. 1,276.

SMALL COUNTY (vol. xxxi.).—Glanogrey, S.W. 200; Feadamor, S.W. 300; Crycowrhy, S.W. 70; Broory, S. 150. Total, S. and S.W. 710.

Pubblebrian (vol. xxxii.)—Monasterneany, S. W. 62; Crome, S. 12; Kilinaghten, S. 3; Ballichahane, S. 7; Cricore, S. 47; Kilpichane, S. 3; Cnockenagall, S. 21; Killeonaghann, S. 14; Kilkeedy, S. 58; Mungret, S. 40. Total, S. and S. W., 267.

| Barony. | Timber. | Underwood. | Shrubbery. |
|----------------------|---------|------------|------------|
| Clanwilliam, | 140 | 965 | |
| Connello, | 509 | | 3082 |
| Coonagh, | 2620 | | |
| Coshlea, | 6 | | 284 |
| Cosmagh, | | | 1287 |
| Kenry, | 196 | | 848 |
| Liberties of City, . | 400 | | 346 |
| Owney, | 650 | | 1276 |
| Small County, . | | | 710 |
| Pubblebrian, | | | 267 |
| Gross Total, 13,580 | 4521 | 965 | 8100 |

The numbers omit fractions, as only broad results were aimed at.

(28) COUNTY KERRY.

To complete, if such a word be permissible, our notes on the Lower Shannon Valley, we must give the tree-names in North Kerry; in Iraghticonor barony and up the valleys of the Cashen, Galey, and Feale in Clanmaurice and Trughenacmy along the borders of Co. Limerick. We find a Rusheen on the Shannon; but (as so often) it is impossible to tell whether the word means a "wood" or (as most likely) a "point." We find Derra and Kylatallin, with perhaps Aughanagran and Glensillagh, or Sallowglen, and Coolbeha (birch corner). Up the watershed of the Feale and its sister streams are two Derryras, Derryco, on the Cashen, the Derras and Derry on the Galey, Knockaderreen on the hills above Duagh, Derreenduff and Derm near Brosna village, where the Clydagh joins the Deel. The other names are few, and of but little interest.

In 1583 we get far less help from the Desmond Roll than we might have expected. Clanmorris is given on sheet 52; Iroughte Ikkonghor (Iraghticonor) on sheet 53. A few names may be collected—Dirrenmonmore on the mountain of Slewlogher, Garrentenna and certain specified lands "ultra boscos," Knocknemony on Slewloger, Garrandarragh and Koylmoore (54).

The Civil Survey description (1655) of Iraghticonor is believed to be lost; but the Down Survey Map shows a large wood along the western end of Aghavullin parish and others about the middle of Listowel parish. It marks a Moybilly near Liseltyne, showing the site of some venerated tree. The imperfect account of Clanmorris gives us no mention of woods from this survey.

Like most of our work, the present Paper is preliminary, not exhaustive; clearing the way and collecting authentic material for subsequent students. As such we present it to the Academy, hoping that it may be found of value to the historian, topographer, and student of forestry, for whom but too little material is as yet available.²

¹ See also Hardiman Maps, 2, 56, 63.

² My thanks are especially due to Mr. M. J. McEnery; but I owe not a little to Dr. George U. Mac Namara, Mr. James Mills, and other friends.

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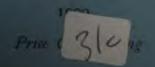
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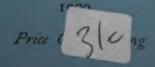
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PLATE XVII.

Read JUNE 15. Ordered for Publication JUNE 17. Published AUGUST 19, 1909.

1.—THE district of Clare with the forts' of which we now deal is rather hard to apportion; so we are making this paper a study rather than a survey; and this seems best attained by taking certain natural groups to show the prevailing types, and giving accounts of the more exceptional enclosures, even when outside the groups. We hope to complete this study in a third paper, dealing in it with some of the latest "royal" forts still extant, for the midthirteenth century "rath of beauteous circles," "the circular rath and princely palace of earth,2" has vanished from Clonroad. The Killaloe group probably was dug during the ninth and tenth centuries; unfortunately its most famous edifice, Kincora, has long been levelled, and the very site forgotten. In the subjects of the present paper we have few historical data to help us; only two of its existing forts, Magh Adhair, with a prehistoric tradition and historical notices from A.D. 877, and Tulla, stated to be a stone fort of the period from A.D. 600-620,3 have won a place even in the local records, and that although the patrimony of one of the ablest, and for long the most powerful, of the tribes in Thomond, the Clan Caisin, Ui Caisin, or Mac Namaras-"sons of the sea-hound." They were fort-dwellers down till late in the Middle Ages;

[&]quot;We here, as in all our previous essays, use "forts" for earthen or stone structures not necessarily defensive, and certainly not military in intent. We cannot find any means short of excavation for distinguishing the sepulchral from the residential, either in the types or by our early literature, where the uses overlap. We hold, and have long held, that all the types occur in Ireland from the Bronze Age to the fourteenth or fifteenth century of our era, if not still later, and have as a rule no outward marks to show their object.

² Dug by Donchad Cairbreach O'Brien and completed by his son, Conchobhair, Princes of Thomond, who died 1242 and 1269. The latter's grandson added a peel-tower before 1306.

In the " Life of St. Mochulla."

For this fact, see Transactions, vol. xxxii., p. 158—"every ollave rested in his rath... and every layman in his liss," in the winter of 1317-18. We have constant allusions to forts. Death visits the "royal rath" to carry off King Dermot O'Brien. Lochlan MacNamara (slain 1313) is of Liss Brin; King Donchad (drowned 1283) is of Dun Caoin; he had three forts near the Fergus. "The dangan" of the O'Gradys was apparently a palisaded camp (1314).

for the founders of the peel-towers lived mainly in the fifteenth century; and the tribe did not even retain the captured Norman castle of Quin, but gave it to the peaceful monks of St. Francis to use as a convent.

In the district we may note that there are no remains of prehistoric villages, or of any enclosures—primitive towns—like Moghane, and perhaps Turlough Hill fort; there are three forts of the flat-topped mote type, but none of great height. Most of the forts have garths practically level with the field, or, at most, slightly terraced up like the saddle-backed Knockadoon, or the rath of Creevaghmore, the latter having beside it on the summit of the slope, a stone fort like a citadel, and evidently the earlier of the two, as the lower earth-work runs down the slope, and is adapted to the caher. Forts entirely of stone occur rather on the plains than on the hills. No earthen forts of two or more rings occur; but the side annexe is not unknown. In at least one instance (Tyredagh) the very small ring is found; but whether sepulchral or the ring of a single circular house requires excavation to set at rest, for (in our present knowledge) there are no external characteristics to mark off the sepulchral from the residential; and Irish literature shows us several examples of earth-works used for both, and indeed other, purposes, such as outlook and ceremonial. The stone fort is very abundant; we find a noble triple-ringed example at Cahercalla, a more massive and larger tworinged fort at Cahershaughnessy, one in an earthen fort at Caherhurley, and a number of simple cahers. None of the forts have steps or terraces; the wall in all cases I have seen is single, battered, and with upright joints. The gates are always defaced; but in three instances, Langough, Caherbane, and Caherloghan, the foundations can be measured, and show the normal types, two being of coursed masonry and one with gate-posts, the lintels in One very remarkable and anomalous enclosure, all cases being removed.3 the "Dooneen," or Caher, of Ballydonohan, is brought for the first time to notice. It is essentially a promontory-fort in a marsh, which may have been a lake when the fort was built, to judge from the former existence of a causeway. Several souterrains occur in the forts, whether earthen or of stone given here. One blank is noticeable, that of the square earthen-fort. It is not entirely absent, but nothing unequivocal, nothing like the square earthen

¹ The Castle Founders List gives Rossroe Castle as built about 1390-1400. A group of castle, including Lismeehan, about 1430, and the bulk between 1450 and 1490, but several towers were built by King Torlough O'Brien at the close of the thirteenth century.

² Probably because the low hills are of drift, not crag, while the high hills were covered with dense forests. The drift, however, is full of blocks of limestone, sandstone, conglomerate, and even granite, so a stone wall or stone-faced mound could have been made from material gathered on the spot.

³ The opes of the gates are from 3 to 4 feet 7 inches wide.

works of Brosna and Killeedy, nothing even like those near Bunratty or Culleen, remains. However, we give a fine example of its stone congener near Knappogue.

The more we study the subject, the less are we able to draw the line between the forts of earth and those of stone; many, if not all, of the first kind examined by us were evidently stone-faced; this also accounts for the usage of "cathair" for the earthen forts as well as for the stone cahers. Though groups of single forts are frequent on the fields, there are no cases of three conjoined forts as at Killulla. Some of the hills have two detached forts on the summit; and we find three cahers in very close proximity in Creevaghbeg. No forts occur on the mountain uplands. Tumuli, pillars, and cairns are practically absent all over eastern Clare; any found are on the smallest scale, and this from no mere lack of stones.

We have laid before the Academy papers on the stone monuments to which, in the seven intervening years, we have been able to add no further example in the district of the true dolmen, the long giant's grave, or the small cist; but we have found and give a note on the remains of a slabenclosure on a natural mound at Fortanne. Pillar-stones have also been described in the same papers, only a few occurring.

The district with which we deal is a purely Irish one, as soon as we cross the Quin rivers. Apart from some small clans and the slightly more important O'Hehir tribe of Magh Adhair, this part of Clare was occupied from the time of the Dalcassian conquest, A.D. 340-380, by the tribe that evolved itself into the Mac Namaras and others. The English seem to have never formed settlements beyond the river banks save in Tradree. They evidently only held the lower part of Ui Aimrid along the Shannon to Limerick, and at one time the land below Ennis at Clare Castle, in the Triucha ced an oileán. the cantred of islands. The strongest colony, that of de Clare, did not hold land beyond Quin and Kilmurrynegall.

2.—The only recorded finds in the Clare earth-forts are bronze implements in a fort near Raheen, outside the limit of this paper. Iron objects were found in the (possibly late) partition wall of Cahercalla; the remains of

¹ Such as Kilnoe ridge, Coolreagh, Lismeehan, and Drumbaun forts, near Corbally, &c.

² That there were others long since removed is clear from names like Knockacarran.

Proceedings, Ser. III., vol. vi., p. 85. Vol. xxiv. (C), pp. 85, 107.

⁴ Clare Castle itself was probably built late in the period (1240-1270) of the earlier colony (exterminated by Prince Brian Ruadh O'Brien); it was essentially a river-bank settlement. The de Clares claimed Lattoon and Tobernafonch; the latter, the "Tiobra na fhuinnsean" of the Cathreim, adjoined the former, and was probably near, if not at, Castlefergus or else St. Kieran's Well on the north border of Dromoland. The Inquisition taken in 1287, on the death of Thomas de Clare, shows conclusively that the English land did not cross the Rine at any points save at Quin itself.

the last were thrown up upon the inner rampart, so future explorers must not be hasty to attribute the latter to the Iron Age, though it may be as late, if not in origin, at least by rebuilding. Finds of the Bronze Age took place on two occasions at Lahardaun, but in a bog, not in a fort. Some apparently of a far earlier period, at Coolasluasta Lake, as already described to the Academy in 1902.1 North from Tyredagh, Tulla, Maryfort, and Coolreagh hardly any forts, dolmens, churches, or peel-towers exist, save near Feakle and Lough Graney, till we cross the mountains of Slieve Aughty. They, or at least their flanks, were uninhabited, impenetrable oak forests, the same being true of Slieve Bernagh, except for the valley of Killokennedy and its branches up to Formoyle. The opposite is the case in the plains. Here were the earliest of Clare's churches and monasteries, the fifth-century Kilbrecan, Doora and Clooney, the sixth-century Tomfinlough and Tomgraney, the seventh-century church of St. Mochulla at Tulla, and many others of the ninth to the twelfth centuries. Of forts Doora, Clooney, Tulla, and Kilnoe had some fifty each; Quin had over eighty. There are nearly fifty dolmens and at least twenty-five peel-towers, showing how important a centre of population the plain must have been from early time down to and past the Norman Conquest.

3.—As to name-phenomena, the most noteworthy is the occurrence of a group of "Liss" names, chiefly round Tulla and Bodyke. This fort-name is rare in Thomond, save in the extreme south-western angle, "the Irrus." In the east we get Lisoffin ("Fort of the Fair Hugh," Macnamara), Lismeehan (Ui Miodhacain's fort), Liskenny, Liscullaun, Lisduff (black fort), Lisbarreen, Liscockaboe, &c. Lismeehan is found in the Macnamara's rental in the latter half of the fourteenth century, provisionally dated "1380," Of "Cathair" names, many survive, as we have shown.3 Cahershaughnessy (Ui Seachnasaig's stone fort), Caherhurley (of Ui Urthaile, "1380"), Cahermurphy (of Ui Murchadha). Probably these names as little represent "the oldest inhabitants" as do those of Caher-Rice or Caher-Power, only called "Kagher" in 1655.4 Cahercalla is supposed to commemorate the O'Kellys. Cahergrady, in 1668, was probably a monument of the unlucky colony of the O'Gradys, the Ui Donghaile, planted, about 1280, by Sir Thomas de Clare in Tradree. The other names arise from natural or accidental circumstances, such as Cahereiny, of the ivy; Cahernalough, of the lake; Caherloghan, of the

¹ Proceedings, xxiv. (C), p. 94.

² The rent was levied "1330." Perhaps 1380, Maccon being chief at the later date.

³ Proc., 111., vol. vi., p. 437.

⁴ There are the foundations of the caher of fairly laid blocks on a small rock-platform jutting from the hillside below Mr. Knox Molony's house.

marl, there being apparently no "little lake" near it; Cahercreevagh, of the branches; Cahercragataska, of the eel-crag, 1729; Cahercottine, of the Common of Tulla; Cahirmore, big fort, 1655; Cahirgal, white fort—two respectively near Maghera and Ballykilty, 1668; Cahirshane, old fort; and unclassed names like Caherdine and Cahergeridan (see Fiant of 1580, and Grant of 1665). The oldest and widest-spread fort-name, "Doon," is found both near Tulla and Broadford, at Doonaun, Doon, and Knockadoon, besides the name Dooneen at Ballydonohan Caher, as well as for a townland with a curious giant's grave near Clooney. Rath and Sonnach names are non-existent in our district, but are found near Inchicronan.

THE QUIN GROUP (Ordnance Survey maps 34, 42).

4.—The townlands to the east of Quin abound in forts; but, being populous and divided into numerous farms, the antiquities have suffered not a little, even since 1839. About half-way between Quin and Knappogue the large fort of Kildrum has been much levelled since that date. It has a souterrain in its garth, but it is now closed. South of the late peel-tower of Bally-markahan we find, on a crag bushy with hazels, the remains of two cahers, well built, with the usual excellent masonry and small filling, but reduced to 3 or 4 feet in height, and featureless. Farther to the south-west remains the broken dolmen of Knappoge, of which a description and plan are published.² Across the road and opposite the dolmen is part of the levelled ring of a small fort; another lies to the north-west, levelled, and of the strangely common size of 102 feet wide.

Ballymarkahan (42).—On the crags to the north-east, partly in Knappogue and partly in Ballymarkahan, is a remarkable oblong stone fort. The wall is rarely more than 4 feet high to the south, having been used as a quarry when the boundary-wall was made between the townlands; it is 6 to 7 feet high to the north. It is of good, regular masonry, with two faces of blocks, many 3 feet 6 inches thick and 4 feet long. It varies a little in thickness, being 6 feet 8 inches to the south, 6 feet 4 inches to the sides, and 7 feet 4 inches to the north. The section in Ballymarkahan is better preserved; and we see that the "corners" are rounded off, and excellently built, having, like the straight reaches, a slope or batter of 1 in 3. The

¹ The latter has four earthen "forts"; but the one in the demesne is really a natural round-topped knoll, with a slight bank 3 feet wide, and no fosse; and despite its being shown on the map of 1839 as a fort, we incline to consider it a late plantation-enclosure. The other is a real rath, faced with a very modern wall.

² See Proceedings, xxiv. (C), p. 101.

³ Proceedings, xxiv. (C), p. 102.

garth is hollow and somewhat irregular, the average being 177 feet east and west, and 234 feet north and south. It has slight foundations of enclosures.

Such square forts, we may note, lie in other countries outside the limits of the Roman Empire, and have yielded antiquities of the Bronze Age in Eastern Europe. There, as here, there are no differences, other than in plan, between the "square" and circular forts. In Clare this is well seen, though the corners are, as a rule, rounded, as at Knockauns Fort, Mohernaglasha, and the bawn near the Cashlaun Gar in Tullycommaun. At Poulgorm, and near Noughaval, we find well-built square angles; but the first at least seems a Near Noughaval, Caherkyletaan and Caherwalsh are of late structure. splendid slab-masonry; while the neighbouring bawn at Cahernaspekee, in Ballyganner, is very poorly built. Mohernaglasha has curious huts and slabs, set at right angles from the inner face of the wall; and the "caher" of Gleninshen is of the poorest design and construction. Lisheeneagh and Faunarooska, near Lisdoonvarna, are of excellent masonry. The latter has a round peel-tower at one angle; but others at Cahermaclanchy, Caher village, and Carran are poorly and badly built-probably very late examples. None of these have steps or terraces; and only one known to me, at Cragballyconoal, has a gateway. This is, however, very interesting, having upright slabs set deeply in the wall, with the edges out to form door-posts in the middle of the passage. This feature is common in the Scottish brochs, and in the cahers of Fahan in Kerry; but to my knowledge only occurs at one true ring-wall, with terrace-steps and huts, Moherarooan, near Carran. It, too, is possibly a late feature, and (I believe) absent from all the finest ring-forts in Western Ireland, northward from the Shannon. It will be seen how in Clare these rectangular enclosures are most common in the purely Irish district of the Corcomroes.

We pass north-eastward through craggy fields, and find two ring-walls levelled to the ground. Near them is a shallow depression, fenced at its curved end by a considerable bank of stones. The foundation of a little circular hut-ring lies near the more southern caher in this field; the northern caher is barely traceable.

About 100 feet to the north of these is a fine and perfect rath. The garth is not raised, nor has it a fosse; but it consists of a steep ring of earth and stones 7 to 8 feet high, planted with hawthorns, and 150 feet across. There are no foundations inside. It was once stone-faced; patches of the work still remain.

¹ Those acquainted with the neighbourhood of Dingle in Kerry will recall Cahercullaun with its ring-fort, straight-sided annexe, and later peel-tower. The castle-builders frequently chose a fort for the site of the stone building.

5.—Ballymacloon (42).—In Ballymacloon East, on a rising ground about half a mile from the last rath, is an even finer specimen. The banks are over 8 feet high, with a deep fosse 16 feet wide, to the south and west, but partly filled at the other points. In the garth, which is 108 feet across, are the foundations of a modern cottage and yards. Below this, in a pit about 6 feet deep, is the ope of a souterrain or "cave." The place was described to me by a farmer as "full of water and badgers," and was habitually too flooded to be easily explored, though the "Irish bear" was not visible. Its sides, as usual, were of small stones, and sloped from 4 feet 4 inches at the floor to 2 feet 7 inches at the roof, being about 51 feet high. The entrance has two strong lintels above it, each a foot thick. The passage at the sixth lintel inward is 61 feet wide. At 12 feet inward we find a side chamber to the south, 4 feet wide and high, too flooded to explore. Its entrance lintel bears up the seventh and eighth covers of the main passage; so it is part of the original plan. Beyond are several more lintels, and an end-wall of small stones. There are no scribings visible on the lintels of this and other similar "caves," and the rath is nameless.

In the same townland, near the little lough, is a massive but overturned dolmen. In 1840 it consisted of a clumsy cover 7 feet long and 5 feet 3 inches thick, of brown gritstone, resting on three other blocks. One of the rockoutcrops near it resembles a large dolmen, more regular than the real one, an enormous slab, resting on a rock, and framing a view of Knappoge Castle. There is, however, no trace of human handiwork on it. These are more accessible from Ballymarkahan Castle. A killeen, or children's burial-place, a 'holy well,' called Tobernanaeve "of the saints," and a nearly levelled fort, are found in the townland, and a small caher in Carrowgare.

6.—Creevagh (34).—Across the river an extent of rich meadow and tilled land surrounds a gently rising hill on which is a remarkable double fort. There is a pleasant outlook to the wooded, turret-crowned ridge of Cullaun and the many-hued Slieve Bernagh, and over the thickets and woods to the towers of Knappoge, Ballymarkahan, Danganbrack, with its lofty gables and chimneys, and the slender belfry of Quin "Abbey."

The fort on the summit is a circular ring-wall; the faces are nearly destroyed; but enough remains among the heaps of filling (15 to over 20 feet wide, and 3 or 4 feet high) to show that it was from 12 to 16 feet thick, and apparently in one piece, the double wall not, so far as I know, occurring in this group. The garth is 102 feet wide, and the whole ring about 130 feet across. In the southern segment 18 feet from the wall are steep mounds, evidently of a wooden and earthen house, somewhat oval, and enclosing a cave. It consists of a passage 8 feet 3 inches long and 2½ feet wide, now

nearly unroofed; the next reach has lintels, the outer only 3 feet 6 inches long, and is nearly filled; the sides incline, and it runs southward. The wall is 21 feet thick; and 15 feet beyond it is another fort of earth on the slope of the hill. It is of irregular outline, evidently adapted to cling more closely to its "citadel"; its fosse is from 5 to 6 feet deep in parts, and rarely more than 3 or 4 feet deeper than the field. It is 12 feet wide, and most filled to the east and south; the outer ring is low, and is 12 feet thick. The inner ring and its slope are from 18 to 21 feet thick, rising 6 feet 6 inches above the fosse to the north, and 10 to 11 feet to the south. It is nearly 4 feet high inside to the north, 3 to the west, and rarely 2 feet elsewhere. The garth so

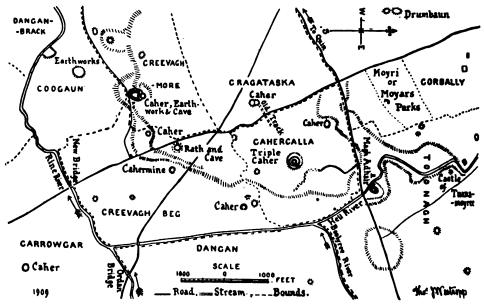


Fig. 1.—The group of Forts round Cahercalla.

enclosed is irregular, somewhat straight to the north, and gently sloping southward, being terraced up in that direction; it measures 144 feet across N. and S., and 141 feet E. and W. There are no foundations or signs of the original entrance, which may have been a wooden bridge next the caher. Both forts are planted thickly round the edges. An old woman assured us that to her knowledge "the fairies were never heard in that fort," though the bohereen (lane) ran past it; so local belief is evidently dying out at Creevagh.

There are four other forts, of little general interest; one near the river Rine in Coogaun is about 250 by 300 feet over all, but much injured by a house and enclosure. In Creevagh, to the east of the caher and its neighbour, we find portion of an unmarked ring.

CREEVAGHBEG (34).—Besides the faint traces of two small forts at the Rine, there is another caher, thickly planted with hawthorns, near the great fort. It has a wall greatly dilapidated, nearly circular outside, evidently 12 feet thick; but the debris is heaped outside for 16 feet more; the garth is 78 feet across. It has a curious feature worth recording. The inner face of the wall is nearly intact, and is built in short straight lengths about 40 feet long, forming a fairly regular hexagon.

Passing up the road northward, we find close to it on the east side on high ground a rath in good preservation. It is circular, girt by a fosse and two steep rings, each thickly planted with hazels and hawthorns, and, on my visits, sheeted with celandine and hyacinth. The outer ring is of earth,

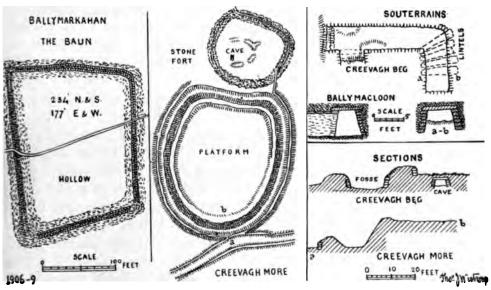


Fig. 2.—Forts near Quin, Co. Clare.

12 feet thick and about 5 feet high, the fosse is 15 feet wide, and 3 or 4 feet deep, and the inner ring 7 feet high over the fosse, and 8 to 10 feet thick, the faces still partly revetted with stonework. The garth is level, 63 to 65 feet across; in the S.S.W. segment, we find a souterrain or "cave" much filled in; it is entered by a pit, 3 feet by 4 feet wide at the top, with sloping sides of rather small stones, having a sort of rude cornice of longer stones under the ends of the roof-slabs. The outer lintel is 5 feet 3 inches long by nearly a foot square; after four more lintels, the last 6 feet long, we find that the passage is again open, and running north and south at right angles to the last for 21 feet at this point; there is a side recess to the east 4 feet wide. We could not trace the main passage farther, as a modern fence crosses the garth, and there is no trace beyond it.

A caher lies at a short distance down a gentle slope to the south-east. It has been already briefly noted in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries,1 but needs a fuller description. It was a massive fort, 87 to 90 feet across the garth, and 114 feet over all. There are no signs of foundations inside, but the interior was evidently levelled. The wall is 12 feet thick, and 8 feet to 9 feet high, being best preserved to the N.K. Some has been removed since my first visit in 1892. The gateway faced E.N.E., and is quite defaced; the masonry is good, with two faces, the outer, as usual, being built with the largest blocks; it has a batter of 1 in 5, and some upright joints remain (see Plate XVII.); the outer facing to the N.W. is nearly all removed. There was a stone fort in Creevaghbeg in the later seventeenth century, called Caherumine in the "Book of Survey" in 1655; Cahermine. Cahermunigan, or Caheroine, in a grant of 1660, Caherbane in 1675, and Cahermine in 1679. If these forms give us Cahermeane, "the middle fort," they probably refer to the above caher, it being near the middle of the townland with other forts around it. Caherbane would still be a very appropriate title, as, on a sunny day, its white limestone walls form a conspicuous object.

There are three forts close together on the border of the townland near Dangan and Cahercalla. The southern is a caher very like the last, but better preserved; most of the inner facing and the larger outer facing to the N. and N.W. are intact. The wall is nearly uniform, 12 feet thick, with two facings of excellent masonry set with great skill to the curve, and to a straight batter varying from 1 in 3 to 1 in 6. It is from 6 feet to 7 feet 8 inches high, and has no terrace or steps; the gate facing the S.E., but quite defaced; the garth measures 118 feet through, and 140 feet over all.

There is a trace of a two-ringed caher, in two low concentric segments of stone-filling in the next field to the west, and hardly 200 feet from the more perfect fort; a ring of filling of a third caher rests on a low ridge of erag to the north; the double fort and its satellites must have nearly joined each other when the large one was entire. I could get no names for these forts, though, with very intelligent guides, I was told by them (accurately) that "the castles of Knappoge, Ballymarkahan, and Dangan were built by the Mac Namaras, but no one knew anything about who built the cahers or what they were called." There are no forts worthy of notice in Dangan, only the Mac Namaras' chief castle of "Dangan Ivigin" and a liss.

7.—CRAGATASKA.—This townland, with Cahercalla, lies north of the

¹ Journal, xxiii., p. 432; xxvi., p. 150. See also our Proceedings, xxiv. (C), p. 439.

^{2 &}quot;Book of Distribution," p. 141; Proc. R.I.A., Ser. iii., vol. vi., p. 439,

Creevaghs. It has the foundations of a caher, evidently the "Caher-cragataska" mentioned in 1729, in a deed of the Creaghs, and other records down to at least 1787. It is a ring of filling with lines of facing-blocks, enough to show that the wall was 12 feet thick, and the garth 102 feet wide, with curved enclosures inside. Both the facing and filling were small, which accounts for its complete overthrow. It had a rounded annexe to the north, whence an ancient road ran across the crags towards Cahercalla triple fort to the north-east. It is on a craggy upland, with a wide view to Aughty and Tulla.

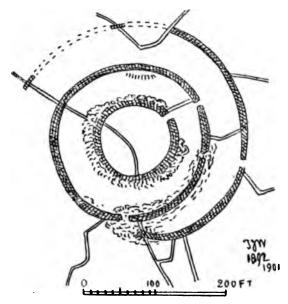


Fig. 3.—Cahercalla Fort (triple-ring walls), near Quin, Co. Clare.

8.—CAHERCALLA.—The fine triple fort of this townland has been described more than once; the fullest account is in these pages.³ We give an illustration of its ramparts, which are fairly preserved and typical (Plate XVII.). There are remains of two little forts near Creevagh and of a larger caher, on a hill near a pool, towards Corbally and Toonagh; the forts of the latter townland we reserve for a later section of this paper.

MAGH ADHAIR.—Beyond these are the mound, pillar, and basin-stone of Magh Adhair, also fully described in these Proceedings. They formed the place of the inauguration of the Kings of Thomond from at least the ninth century. We need only further note that the argument that it is a purely

^{1 &}quot;Dublin Registry," Book 62, p. 220, and Book 387, p. 273.

² Proceedings, xxiv. (C), p. 438; also Ser. iii., vol. iv., p. 56

ceremonial and not a residential fort, because the ridge overlooks it (or rather is near it, being slightly lower), has no weight when we consider how the evidently residential stone forts of Caherlisaniska, Cahernamweela, Caherduff, a small one near Cahercommaun, and in a lesser degree Cahermore in Glenquin, are all commanded by high rock-ridges, close at hand or overhanging them, on top of which they could have been built as easily as on their present sites. The cliff forts, too, are often overhung; we may give as examples Island Hubbock in Co. Waterford, the great fort of Doon near Dingle, and the small but strong cliff fort at Foillnamná at Ventry in Kerry. Also we find trace of a stone wall of fairly large blocks round the top at Magh Adhair.

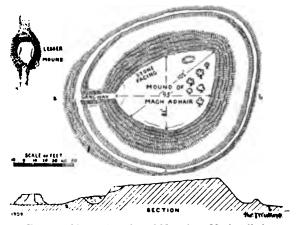


Fig. 4.—Plan and section of Mounds at Magh Adhair.

I regret that I did not use my own plan for the description published in these pages, as, on re-examination, I find the plan on the large-scale maps inaccurate, being the one used in that paper.² I give a new plan with a a section.

I may also note a very significant name, occurring, as it does, so near the Inauguration place of the early Kings of Thomond—"Boolyree," "the milking-ground of the King," which gives its name to a little brook which joins the Hell River,³ just below the mound, and forms the Rine, the ancient Gissagh or Missagh.

¹ Of course such mounds as the Forradh at Tara and Magh Adhair played their part in ceremony and perhaps in worship. Virchow regarded the high motes with annexes (like Lismore and other Irish examples) in central Europe as temples; and if the Teach Cormaic was (as Borlase thinks) a temple of Cormac mac Airt, then a field of speculation (as yet untouched, but which would be full of dangers) is opened to Irish antiquaries, who have as yet done little to identify or illustrate the temples of "the Elder Faiths in Ireland."

² Proceedings, Ser. iii., vol. v., p. 55.

³ The strange name is taken literally by O'Donovan and O'Curry in the Ordnance Survey Letters. There is no explanation of so grim a title.

These forts which we have been describing, with three small and levelled rings in "Moyar's Park" (Moyri and Moyross Park) in Corbally, and a ring-wall and four other foundations in Toonagh (Tuanomoyre, 1584, Tuanamoyree, 1655-1683), show how important a centre lay here round the mote and triple-walled caher, and may account in part for the selection of the former by the proud conquerors of the plain of Adhair, as the place "where the Kings were made."

TULLA GROUP.

9.—The most striking feature in this district is the number of low rounded green hills, on one of which Tulla itself is seated; nearly every one of these (ten) is crowned by an earthen fort. They are not in any sense contour forts, not following the natural lines of the hill, but are usually oval or round, with steep banks, once stone-faced, and fosses. In some cases the ditches are filled up with the outer rings to enlarge the field space; but local feeling was, till very recent times, everywhere (and is still in some places) averse to meddling with the earthworks. When a landlord insisted on his men levelling a fort, a sort of ceremony was performed, the men making him stick the spade into the ground; they waited to see if it was expelled or knocked over by the fairy occupants. If not, the invader of the "sheevra's" abode cut the first sod, assuming thereby full responsibility, and then the men went to work without scruple.

No "finds" in forts are recorded, but the parish has yielded bronze antiquities from several spots: a flat axe is said to have been found in Maryfort—some said, very doubtfully, in a fort. The townland of Lahardaun, near Tulla, yielded, in May, 1861, a number of antiquities. They consisted of two small socketed celts, a dish-headed pin, plain bronze rings, and a fibula, with slightly expanded ends, rare in bronze but common in gold, numbers having been found at Moghaun, and one at the dolmen of Knocknalappa. Since then Dr. Michael Molony, of Tulla, has shown me a flat axe-head, also found at Lahardaun. When the Kennedys and others removed the dolmens of Miltown, they found a bronze sword and numbers of fragments of clay vessels, all now lost; stone implements were ploughed up in the lawn before

¹ This disregard for contour is well marked at Moghane, where the outer rampart at either side "climbs" down and up steep slopes.

² This was the procedure in more than one case told to me. In one, a relation of mine was struck in the eye by a splinter of rock, which the workmen long regarded as a case of undoubted fairy vengeance.

The first group were found by James Moroney at a depth of 7 feet below the bog. Proc. R. I.A., xxvi. (C), p. 124. The other was found "under 6 feet of bog" in the same place, and was shown to Dr. Molony as a "tobacco-knife." The finds may belong to the seventh or eighth century before our era.

Fortanne, near the trace of a levelled fort, and were long preserved, but were lost when the place was sold.

There are some thirty forts in the 6 square miles at Tulla; the stone forts near the village are entirely removed. A Cahercutteen was given to Tulla church in about 1380 by Mac Namara. It was evidently in Cutteen townland, either the levelled ring-fort or the one on the rising ground near Lisoffin Castle; but there were several in Bunnavoree, Miltown, Clonmoher, and Caelvagh, the last in Fortanne, reduced to mere foundations, or rather rings of filling.

10.—Caherloghan (35).—"The stone-fort of the marl" is in Clooney, but only divided from Tulla by the Affock river, and it naturally belongs to the Tulla group. It lies not far south from the curious group of demidolmens and cists already described. The fort is much levelled; but the foundations of several late houses near it and the ruin of a limekiln fully account for the destruction. It measured 165 feet across the garth and about 200 feet over all; the facing is nearly all removed, but the mounds of stones are 15 to 18 feet wide and 5 to 7 feet high to the north-west. The foundation of the gateway is extant. It faced the south-west, was of good coursed masonry, the blocks about 18 inches square; the opening was 4 feet 7 inches wide. In the garth we see a semicircular foundation, a cross-wall or traverse, and traces of other early-looking enclosures. There are several outcrops of natural rock in the garth.

LISOFFIN (35).—To the south of Lisoffin Castle, between it and the large lake of Cullaunyheeda, "Sheeda (Mac Namara's) Cullaun," famous for the enchanted city, or palace, under its waters, runs an ancient cross-road from Dangan to Tulla. It passes through Derrymore (not the better-known demesne of the Gores bearing that name, and farther westward); beside it lie several remains worthy of examination.

CRAGNAGANAHA.—A defaced caher, overgrown with hazels; the facing was small and poor, so little remains, the wall being 15 feet thick and 5 to 7 feet high, with small filling, enclosing a circular garth, 71 to 72 feet across, with no foundations inside.

LISOFFIN CAHER lies north from the last, and is best reached from the main road, an old house, or "cowl," being a landmark for its position. The ring-wall measures 117 to 123 feet over all, being oval; the walls, usually 12 feet thick, faced with good small masonry, with small filling; the eastern part, where best preserved, is 5 feet high. The other cahers round Tulla are

¹ Inquisitions P.R.O.I., 27th October, 1604, and 30th April, 1611.

² Proceedings, xxiv. (C), p. 100.

mere low rings of filling; but enough has been said to show that they differ in no respect, even in dimensions, from the normal ring-wall of Burren and the other craggy districts where such remains are better preserved.

11.—Along the old road we pass three levelled earthworks, defaced by the farm-buildings of Derrymore. There is a rude pillar, 6 feet 3 inches high and 23 inches by 10 inches thick, near them, at a pool choked with sallows and marsh plants. Derrybeg has two lisses on the edge of Creevosheedy Bog, called, like Cullaun, after some Sioda Mac Namara, probably the great chief who built, or rather restored, Quin Abbey in 1402. To the east lies Lahardaun, noted above for its bronze "finds," with a liss, a killeen graveyard, and a holy well of St. Mochulla.

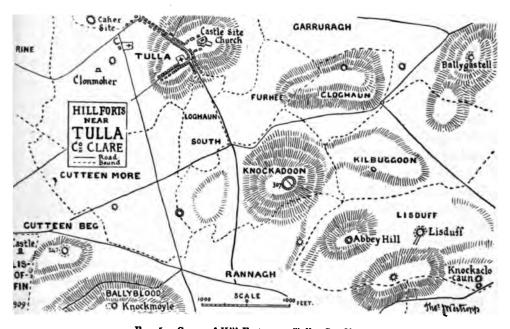


Fig. 5.—Group of Hill Forts near Tulla, Co. Clare.

The road curves round the northern face of Knockmoyle Hill; rising 247 feet above the sea and 150 feet above the plains, it commands a wide and interesting view from Callan, Inchiquin, and Burren in the west, on to Knockfierna in Limerick, and over Cullaun Lake.

KNOCKMOYLE Fort is a conspicuous object resting on the summit, and ringed with tall, gnarled old hawthorns and bright furze. It is, however, a low earthen ring, 4 feet high to the north and 8 feet to the south, where it is levelled up, being on a slight slope. The garth is 93 feet across, with no foundations or fosse; a curved rise lies to the south-west, marking an annexe

levelled when the field was tilled. This partly terraced fort is a characteristic of the Tulla and Bodyke groups.

CUTTEENBEG, the grant of which, about 1380, was noted, has a low ridge near Lisoffin Castle. On this is another earth-work, greatly damaged in recent years, the eastern side being much levelled. It has at the other sides an inner ring, 3 to 4 feet high and 6 feet thick, a fosse 12 to 15 feet wide and 5 feet deep, and a slight out-ring 6 feet thick and 3 to 5 feet high. All is much overgrown; and it contains a pit 45 feet long north and south, 30 feet wide, and 9 feet deep, planted with fine ash-trees, and with a small well or pond at the bottom.

12.—Tulla.—The graveyard on the hill-top gives clear traces, showing that the Church of St. Mochulla had been built inside a large terraced fort. The medieval church and its successor, dating from about 1700,¹ stand on a level platform, semicircular to the south and east, and from 5 feet to 9 feet higher than the lower part of the older graveyard. Its trace runs into the level of the hill at the summit; but the graveyard is 3 feet or 4 feet higher than the field: there is a terraced plot to the S.W., but of doubtful age. The ring probably included the old castle, which stood near the north-west corner of the graveyard down to about 1835, but was levelled before 1839. This had vaulted rooms, and the door faced the east towards Garruragh.²

The existence of the semicircular terrace, which we first noted in 1883, is of interest as being probably the fort alluded to in the ancient "Life of St. Mochulla," the founder of the church, who is said to have cleared and levelled the platform "with his own hands," finding a block with a basin in it. St. Mochulla (still locally remembered for his miracle of turning seven robbers, who attacked his tame bull, into the pillar-stones of Classagh) was "pupil of St. Ailbe, of Emly," who died circa 540. Clare, or at least its northern or western portions, seem to have been still pagan in the early seventh century. The saint, leaving the mountains, followed a doe (constantly recurring in folk-lore) to a hill, "Dorsum riscarum," now called "Episcoporum collem" (Tulach na n espoc), covered with trees, brambles, and

¹ The Molony tomb, built on the east end of the older church, dates 1702.

² Told me by Michael O'Loughlin, of Fortanne, who died last year, aged 83, and had reliable traditions of other matters tested by me.

³ The "Life," sought for in vain by Colgan about 1637, has recently been recovered in Austria, but is in a fragmentary condition. It is published in "Analecta Bollandiniana," vol. xvii., p. 135. It is of the year 1141, and confirms the local legend about the saint's tame bull—an interesting case of survival by tradition alone for over 250 years.

⁴ In these early Lives a saint is often named long after his death, his "coarb" (successor) being intended; so also the term, "the saint is at" a place, refers to his body or relics. So we may evidently discard the time-indication of Ailbe and cling to those of Guaire and Forannan.

⁵ From the prayer in the Stowe Missal (late sixth century), folio 25.

bushes. Mochulla found a smooth rock with a cavity (bullaun, or basinstone, not infrequent in the district), which the doe fills with milk, and here he and his brother hermit found a cell. "King Guaraeus" (evidently Guaire "the hospitable," of Aidhne, near Gort, c. 620, who died at an advanced age in 662), sends seven soldiers to capture Mochulla. They join the community and toil for a year "in erecting an impregnable stone fort as a refuge against further attack." It had ramparts, very deep fosses, and outworks ("muros, fosseta profundissima necnon et antemuralia"). The enraged Guaire comes by night across the mountain passes, and, remaining on a spur, sends his troops across the plain to the monastery. A female anchorite, "Glasnetis" (unknown to local tradition), who had gone to "fetch away fire" from the place, meeting the soldiers, drops the burning embers and (as is the case at, perhaps, the very "spurs" while we write) the heather and furze catch fire and make a dense smoke; the soldiers fall insensible in the reek, Guaire becomes humble, and "afterwards becomes renowned for his liberality." Mochulla is consecrated a bishop, and the Life ends abruptly. The legend alludes to an ill-disposed chief, Forannan, who appears as King of Thomond in the Book of Ballymote, probably in the early seventh century, as he married a daughter of It also tells how King Torlough O'Brien, and his son and tanist Teige, blockaded the monastery in which one of the chiefs (who had killed a favourite courtier) had taken refuge, and nearly starved it into surrender The monks, to whom St. Mochulla appeared in a vision, found a well on the left of the altar, which abated their thirst. The punishment of Teige, and his father's offer to the Abbot of all the lands he could see "from the top of the hill where the saint was known to be buried," ensue; but Teige dies the same day and his father the same month, in 1086, as recorded in the Annals. The church is called "Tulach" in the Papal Taxation of 1302. From some translations of the "Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh" it appears that it was at "dewy Tulach" that Death, in "a raid that takes a king, came to visit Brian's Rath." King Dermot O'Brien, in 1313, after a brave struggle against his deadly illness, took to his bed there, and "death divorced him and his disease." The Mac Namara chief, Melachlin, having come to visit him, was seized and chained; and after the king's death he and their other chief, Lochlain, were cruelly put to death. "Green Moyare's two horsemen" being killed, this misfortune crushed Tulach, as corn is crushed in the quern. Five years later King Murchad O'Brien, after his useless conference with the Norman nobles in Limerick, came to "Tulach na n-espoc" (of the bishop's), "sanctified by bell and precious mass, by relics, gold-enshrined, by rare piety and notable miracles"—another indirect allusion to the now almost forgotten founder. At the close of the century in 1397 the Mac Namaras confirmed a

number of lands in the "Termon of Tulla" to the church.¹ The deed was preserved down to 1611 in the "Black Book of St. Mochulla," now unfortunately lost.² Little is told of the place till Tudor times, save occasional mention of one of its priests, Donchad, son of Maccon Mac Namara, its rector in 1397, Reginald O'Halharan in 1407, and Gilbert O'Lean in 1421. The Castle was built a little later by Shane Mac Teige Mac Donough Mac Namara; the church of "the Colidei," circa 1367, by "Convara" Mac Namara.

Evidently, however, we have at Tulla a trace of a ring-wall which, in the twelfth century, was attributed to the early seventh century. It surrounded the church, like the fosses and mounds made by St. Enda round his sister Fanchea's cell, at the end of the fifth century, or the existing ring-walls round Glencolumbkille and Templenaratha, and the flat-topped fort on which Moyarta church was built, all being in county Clare.

Before leaving the subject we must note the strong local colouring of the Mochulla legends. The hills, or rounded mounds (Tulach), covered with bushes and thorns, the spurs of the mountains thick with furze beyond the plain, the name "Drumreask," the ridge having a marsh at its foot, the shallow well on the hill-top, the bullaun or basin-stone, and the caher made round the cells, have their existing counterparts.

13.—KNOCKADOON.—South of Tulla, the most commanding of the hills, rises 307 feet above the sea; it is central, with two "fortified" hills to each quarter, and is crowned by the largest of the Tulla forts. The "Doon" lies centrally across the ridge, and, though each wing has been terraced up, the garth is "saddle-backed." The "dorsal ridge" lies north-east and south-west, being 211 feet along the fort and 165 feet in the opposite direction. The garth is raised 4 to 5 feet over the field to the north and south, with a ring 3 feet high, in all 7½ to 8 feet over the field. There is no trace of a fosse; the garth is tilled, and the ring of the eastern half is levelled, the fort being divided between two farms.

ABBEYHILL.—Knockadoon Hill slopes steeply to the south-east; at its foot in a field in the bottom of the hollow is a low enclosure where, local tradition says, the Mac Namaras began to lay the foundation of the Franciscan Monastery; but they changed their intention, and built it at Quin instead. This interesting and not improbably true story gives the name of "Abbey-

¹ The Termon lands were in 1397 (as copied into the Inquisition of 1611) Tulla, Killeen, Lisoffin. Cloonteen, Dromlig (Knockdrumleague), Moymore, Fomerla, Kiltanon, Tiresheeds (Tyredagh), Dromcaha alias Kilconalballagh (Ardbooly), Ballyore, Creggancryen, Dromaghmartin, Bunavorey, Furhee, Loughann, Cutteen or Cahercutteen, and perhaps Rine.

² See Mss. R. I. Acad. 24. D. 10, copy by Chevalier O'Gorman.

³ Killilagh and Rathborney churches also closely adjoin flat-topped circular mounds.

hill" to the ridge to the south of Knockadoon. There is a low green liss with the usual charming outlook and venerable thorns. There is no fosse—only a ring 5 feet high in parts and 6 feet thick, and a garth 3 feet higher than the field, measuring 66 feet across east and west, and 78 feet north and south, or rather north-east and south-west.

LISDUFF.—The next hill to the south has a nearly levelled fort, barely traceable, but marked by a thick mass of furze. At the foot of the slope we find trace of an old banked road leading to another liss, which Mr. Burke, of Ranna, tells me is known to the neighbours as the "Right Fort," being, in their opinion, the true "Lisduff." The ring is 5 feet high to the north, with a very slight hollow, scarcely a fosse; at the south it runs into a steep natural slope, and is 12 to 14 feet high; it hardly rises a foot over the garth; the fort measures 132 feet across, and has been dug into in parts. It is planted with unusually fine hawthorns. The old road between it and the hill-fort runs straight for the latter. There are two low earthen rings to the southwest of Lisduff in the same townland, the northern called Knockaclocaun; at the house to the west of them, by the roadside, are two fine "bullauns" or basin-stones.

CLOGHAUN.—Barely noticing a low fort near the "Abbey" site, and some trace of a terraced one in Kilbuggoon on a low ridge towards the north-east from Lisduff, we ascend the large ridge of Cloghaun, nearer Tulla. Here we find a terraced fort hardly a foot higher than the summit, but terraced up from 8 feet to 10 feet high at the north, with a very steep bank and no fosse or appreciable ring. It is 78 feet east and west, 96 feet north and south over all; and from its lofty furze ring, 12 feet high, is one of the most conspicuous and deceptive of the hill forts.

Garruragh.—The last of the bold drift-hills lies farther east, at the cross-road in Garruragh. It has two ridges, with a deep hollow between, and on the western lies another ring-fort. An old lane leads up to it and around its side. The ring is 7 feet high in parts without a fosse. The garth is level with the field to the east, and the bank entirely removed to that side. The ring is about 13 feet thick and 6 feet on top, enclosing a space 114 feet north and south, and 93 feet east and west. It is known as Ballygastell Fort.

The whole group suggests a central "Doon" of the chief at Knockadoon, the entrenched houses of other magnates on each of the other hills around

¹ This type, of which three nearly perfect examples are given under Fortanne and Coolreagh, has a ring for about half its circuit up the slope, but none where the terraced part occurs.

him; and though they have left no trace, the wicker, clay, and wooden houses of his more obscure followers and serfs among the stone ring-walls of an older settlement. Then, about A.D. 620, the Church asserts itself, establishing a "culdee" mission monastery, probably but little unlike the other hamlets in and around one of the lisses at "Tulla of the bishops," where a stone church and eventually a peel-tower were built.

14.—MARYFORT.—Closely connected with the Tulla group, and isolated in the other directions by a considerable district devoid of forts—we may very briefly complete our record with the slight remains in the townlands of Lismeehan and Fortanne. The local names are numerous, and as a rule unmarked, even on the large scale maps. The surveyors usually appealed to the landlords, who were profoundly indifferent as to the recording of the names. though the latter often have cleared up great difficulties in questions of title. I may give four here-"Reisk-na-raba," the marshy "Calf Park" south of the lake of Creggankeale, "Garreengae" ("little breezy garden") to the east of Maryfort House; "Caelvagh," a craggy field to the east of its front gate between the roads and the "Roughans" adjoining Garruragh along the Tulla road. In Maryfort, whose western bound has not altered since the "1688" Trustee maps were made, we find the Mac Namaras' Castle of Lismeehan. The name Lis Miodhachain is in the "1380" rental of the Mac Namaras, meaning the fort of the O Mechans, who still live on the adjoining townland of Fortanne, and figure, with the O Molonys, in the wars of 1313 in the "Cathreim Theirihealbhaigh." The castle stood on an earlier earthwork. Very slight traces remain of an outer ring, 14 feet to 18 feet wide, and in parts 4 feet over the marsh, with an apparent "annexe," 63 feet across to the north-west. The inner mound is 108 feet across north and south, and 11 feet to 12 feet high. It is covered with debris; and two great masses of the angle of the peel-tower of strong grouted masonry, 6 feet thick, lie on its slope, fallen but rocklike. The mound is about 260 feet round the base. The tower was built about 1420 to 1440 by Mahon or Ruadri Mac Namara, the first being best attested. South of the castle on the low plateau of Lismochan were two earthworks. The northern, on a commanding bastion of the ridge, is 100 feet series and 3 feet or 4 feet high, with no

³ Two to each face of Knickadoon, Talia, and Coginain to the north: Cutteen and Lismoyle to the west. Albeyhill and Lishoff to the south: the terraced fact in Kilbuggoon and Ballygastell to the cast. Cragg and Lahardaun lims some at present without forts. Several forts, such as Scovagh and Combughaun lisses and the half-levelled Liskenny, Liscollaun, and Lahardaun, belong to the group.

The Castle Founders' list has only reached as in current copies. Mr. Standish Hayes O'Graly collates two in the Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum. There are two other used by me from the uses, of this Academy. They one gives Rundri as founder of Lismoshan.

fosse; the larger one, oval, 130 feet north and south, 114 feet east and west; it had a fosse and rings, but, like its companion, has been levelled and planted. Opposite to the castle and to the east, a low mound in the marsh has been adapted as a fort by digging an oval fosse, 7 feet or 8 feet wide, enclosing a space 129 feet north and south, and 78 feet east and west, with an outer ring 6 feet to 8 feet wide. The excluded part of the mound forms a pear-shaped annexe, 60 feet across to the north. The beautifully wooded hill behind the house has another sloping fort near the top. It measures 108 feet north and south, and 130 feet over all, falling southward (6 feet in 108 feet) along the slope, with a fosse and low inner ring, each 9 feet wide, the latter 4 feet to 5 feet high. The hill, despite its planting, has a beautiful outlook, the faint blue hills in King's County being visible beyond Lough Derg; the old castle of Fortane or Rosslara and three lakes showing from the slopes.

15.—FORTANEBEG.—"Fertane," corruptly modernized to Fortanne, is first recorded as "Fertain," in the De Clares' wars of 1279. We find in "Caelvagh," the foundation, 6 feet thick, of a ring-wall, 69 feet across the garth, and a small knoll, walled, either as a house or grave enclosure, 30 feet by 40 feet across, by an oval rampart of large blocks and small field-filling. Behind, and north-east of the gate lodge, is a low mound of earth and small stones, partly artificial; on this was a slab-enclosure of a type not unfamiliar in north-west Clare. It was somewhat oval, 25 feet to 29 feet across; five slabs remain, 7 feet by 3 feet by 1 foot thick, 6 feet by 21 feet by 8 inches, and 41 feet by 1½ feet by 15 inches, the others nearly buried. The slight trace of a ring-fort is found on the lawn; and beyond the road, on a steep, low ridge, is a terraced fort, not marked as such on the maps. It is of irregular plan, the garth 5 feet to 6 feet higher than the slope to the west. The bank is 9 feet thick, and much repaired when the site was planted. The garth is level with the summit of the ridge, and 78 feet across, similar to several in the Tulla group. We will notice a better example at Liscockaboe. It lies in view of Abbey Hill, Lisduff, and Knockadoon, and is the most eastern liss of the group, there being no trace of entrenchment on the larger hill behind Fortanne House, only an old unfenced Killeen graveyard, which gave the place its name, lies on the slope beside a holy well of St. Mochulla. traces of old roads in the craggy fields near Tulla, near a levelled caher, and in Maryfort demesne; the latter track passes close beside a little dolmen of limestone slabs already described and planned.1

¹ Proceedings, xxiv. (C), p. 115. We need not include the simple little forts of Drummaghmartin, Lecarrow, and Ayle, or the site of Cappaknockane fort, though in some sense part of the group.

BODYKE GROUP (28).

16.—The next most characteristic group lies around the little village of We find no early record of the village; but its name is evidently "Both dTeige," Teige's hut. The townlands treated by us comprise Clonmoher and the Coolreaghs, with outlying forts at Ballydonohan and Caherhurley. There are, however, many earthen forts that naturally belong to the group; for instance, in Drumod (or, as it is better known, Knocklare and Knockbrack) are four raths and Knockbrack fort, Lurragabawn, a fine liss with a fosse and two rings, the inner nearly perpendicular, and 6 to 8 feet high; Kilderry, a large oval fort, about 250 by 200 feet, in Newtown; Tondrislee, an old low-banked enclosure, pear-shaped in plan, with a shallow fosse on a slope; it is 93 feet across. There are also three more circular lisses in Coolreagh, three in Lisbarreen, and one in Coolready (St. Catherine's), usually steep banks without fosses, with garths over 100 feet across; one, south of Bodyke, being terraced and on a slope. There is a somewhat larger ring on the Annaghmullivan River, opposite Caherhurley, and four others beside the Caher; the terraced graveyard, a probable church site, called Killanna in Parknakilla, and a ring-fort on the ridges flanking the valley in which Ballydonohan Caher lies. Of these places we find mention in the early rental of Cluana mothair, the Culriabaghs, and Caitir Urthaile. Mac Namaras, and in later days a branch of the O'Briens, held Coolreagh; but, from the time of the Commonwealth, most of these lands came into possession of the O'Callaghans, a family transplanted from Duhallow in Cork.

CLONMOHER.—Cluanamothair, the latter term being frequently used in Clare for a fort. The long, green ridge overlooks a boggy country from which forts and other antiquities are absent, the valley of the river Graney and its affluents. There are two fine forts on the ridge, each on a rounded, rising ground.

LUGALASSA, the more northern, is of the lower mote type, like Lisnaleagaun, near Kilkee, its platform being 8 feet above the field, and 11 or 12 feet above the fosse. The summit measures 139 feet east and west, 132 feet north and south. The mound was faced with stonework, and probably a ring-wall of dry stone girt the summit, as the base of the inner face of large blocks is traceable. The inner ring at the base is about 14 feet wide; the shallow fosse 21 feet to 25 feet wide; the outer ring 14 feet to 16 feet wide, and 5 or 6 feet high. In all it measures 267 feet north and south, and 240 feet

¹ Newtown was part of Ballymacdonnell, as shown in a map of Thomas Neville, 1764, made for Donat O'Callaghan.

east and west, being somewhat pear-shaped in plan. The name Lugalassa means "the hollow of the liss."

LACKENREAGH, or Lackareagh, usually called Clonmoher Fort, lies to the east of the last, and is of the common type, a low garth, hardly 2 feet higher than the field; it is pear-shaped in plan, being about 150 feet to 170 feet over the garth, and 70 to 212 feet over all. The inner ring is well preserved, 14 feet thick, and 7 to 9 feet high at the fosse, which is 11 feet or 12 feet wide, and 3 or 4 feet deep; an old bohereen runs through it. The outer ring is much levelled to the north and east, is 6 feet thick, and rarely 4 feet high. The whole is covered with beautiful sward; a garden, according to the season, of bluebells, wild strawberry, and foxglove.²

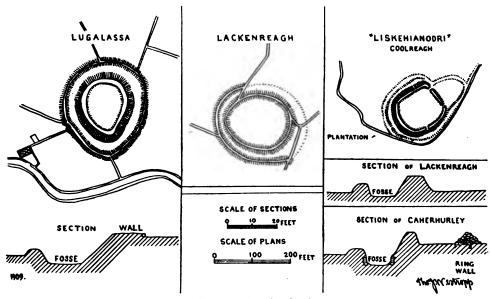


Fig. 6.-Forts near Bodyke, Co. Clare.

17.—COGLREAGH.—An old by-road runs northward from Coolready Hill, along the ridge whose summit is named Knockacarran, from a levelled cairn, and brings us across a valley to a bold ridge rising 250 feet above the sea, with a beautiful view of the river valley, the lakes of Bearnadearg (Red Gap), and Lough O'Grady, with their creeks and reedy fens, and far away, Lough Derg, with the lofty, slender round tower of St. Caimin's monastery of Iniscaltra. Since 1839 the fort on the bluff near the house has been levelled; the fosse is barely traceable.

¹ A surprising meaning was suggested to me, "Lugalassa," like "Lugdunum," fort of Lug, the sun-god!

² These forts were briefly noted in Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland, vol. xxxiv., p. 75; "200 to 210 feet" in that note are misprints for "260 to 270."

LISKERERNODRI.—The name of this fort, "the little bushy sod fort," is preserved by a partition deed between Matthew O'Brien, his son Thady, and brother, Kennedy, of Coolreaghbeg, May 26th, 1736, lent me by Col. O'Callaghan Westropp, the present owner. The O'Briens held as tenants in common; and, fearing to lose their lands under the Penal Laws, got their Protestant neighbours, F. Drew of Drewsborough, and John Westropp, of Lismeehan, to act as trustees, making a fictitious and friendly "discovery." Legal advisers recommended a partition of the lands, which was carried out, The division-line started from "Cnocnaspige, over against the north point of the Rushy Island on the Derrymore [above Bearnadearg, the name still attaches to some houses], and running south close by the house of Daniel O'Brien at Gortnakilly [wowl-field], on the said lands of Coolreaghbeg, and thence south to the bounds of Coolbaun [still a field-name], ending west of Liskehianodri." Of other lost names found in the O'Brien papers, we can only note "Moneliberine," 1736, or "Libbereen Bog," in a map of 1775, in the north of Coolreaghmore, next the river; "Droumnagour" Goat's ridge), the ridge in Coolreaghmore, south from the liss; "Dermee," north of the river at Core-bridge; "Rosnure." in the bend between it and Derrymore. The place had 30 acres of wood in the western half alone in 1772.

The fort still deserves its name, being well sodded and ringed with small bushes. The garth is irregular, horseshoe-shaped, with a fairly straight reach to the north-east; 126 feet north and south, 144 feet east and west. The inner ring is 9 feet thick, and rises 5 feet over the fosse to the west, and 8 feet and 9 feet to the south-west, being on a slope, and terraced up for a few feet. The fosse, 8 to 10 feet wide, and 3 feet deep, runs round the curve, and then girds a conical space outside the ring to the north-east, 78 feet across, with trace of a bank 12 feet thick. The outer ring of the curved section was 10 feet thick; it has been dug away in parts. There are two old ponds on the hill-top east from the fort, overshadowed by old sallows.

The main ridge lies east and west. South from it is a forked ridge lying north and south. Several nameless forts lie in the hollow, between the by-road and the tall fragment of the "castle" or peel-tower. They were house-rings, the eastern planted, and 5 feet thick; the garth barely 3 feet high, and 130 feet across. The ring, in the next field to the west, is nearly levelled, 2 to 4 feet high, and 105 feet across, the ring 5 feet thick. They have no fosses, and are probably very late. As we have pointed out, similar circular trenches, or banks, are still made to protect small plantations, and usually have a fosse outside from which the material was taken. Dry-stone ring-walls are also built for the same purpose.

()n the western fork of the ridge is a fort terraced up on the slope, 6 feet

higher than the field at its northern end, with steep banks to the south, and no fosse, 105 feet across the garth, the ring 12 feet thick.

18.—LISCOCKABOE.—Lies on the eastern ridge beyond a marsh and stream. Like the last, it has no fosse, and lies on the slope of the ridge. The platform is 2 feet high at the summit, and terraced to 6 feet over the field at the south-east. The ring, like the last fort, was highest up the slope. It is 6 to 7 feet high on the top of the ridge, and 3 feet over the garth to the sides. It is very steep, and so evidently had a stone facing till very recent times, but none remains, with a thick hedge of tall hawthorns all round its summitprobably lineal descendants of the old quickset hedge. The garth measures 126 to 128 feet across. The name implies that it was used to pen cattle, and dates at least from 1617. It, and the third ridge, called Dromscale, formed separate townlands from Coolreagh, down to 1655, if not later.

An old road runs from the fort eastward, along the back of the ridge. Beside it are two curious little mounds with rounded tops, each 15 feet across, and 4 feet high, of doubtful date and character. They lie 330 feet and 470 feet from the fort. At about 500 yards from the liss is another fort. The garth is 6 feet, and the ring 8 to 10 feet above the field. The ground is dug away to the north-west, but no fosse remains. The garth is hollowed like a plate, and is almost exactly 100 feet across; the ring 12 feet thick, but hardly 2 feet high, forming a rim round it.

BALLYDONOHAN (36).

19.—This very singular stone fort is so exceptional that I dare not venture to theorize, but describe it as I found it, stating the difficulties, in the hope that some other worker may be able to throw light upon it. It was first pointed out to me by Col. O'Callaghan Westropp, not being marked on the older maps of 1839, or shown accurately, or as an antiquity, on the new ones.

The people near it call it "the Caher," "the Dun," "the Dooneen," with a valueless tradition "that it was an old fortification of the Danes." Messrs. Bolton and Daniel O'Callaghan heard, from a very old woman who died 20 years ago, that "she remembered a cellar and rooms under it 70 years ago" (about 1820). The former remembered a dry-stone wall or causeway to the north-east across the marsh, and heard that "one of Cromwell's regiments. going into Galway by Scariff, had overthrown the Dooneen." I have failed to get any historic evidence for this event, and the tendency in Munster is to accredit every destruction to "Cromwell." Still, the very definite detail as

¹ Of course some of the outline results from its following the contours of the ridge; but the great slab facing, the stone ridge and souterrains, with the problematic building enclosed, make it

to the route of the regiment is worth recording. All agree that it was not a castle; certainly it is as unlike a medieval castle or peel-tower as it is unlike an early caher; and the silence of the records bears out their opinion.

The caher stands on the eastern end of a low craggy ridge, highest to the west, and surrounded by marshy meadows running up a valley and little stream. The valley was probably once a lake, like the depression to the south, further up the mountains. The foundations, evidently of some very old fences, cross the ridge at intervals; we then reach a rock-cutting forming a path down the steep southern crags. Beside it is a massive stone wall

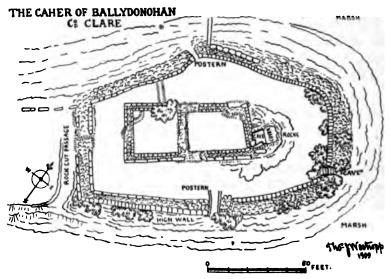


Fig. 7.—Ballydonohan Caher, Bodyke.

faced with large slabs set on end. The fort is very irregular in plan, somewhat resembling a footprint in outline. It is 132 feet long east and west, and 72 feet across at 66 feet from the east end. The wall is of large gritstone slab masonry, roughly coursed to the south, and of fine but rude blocks, 3 feet to 5 feet long, 24 feet high, to the north; the filling is of small stones and earth; no upright joints occur. The inner face, like the outer one to the west, is "veneered" with long, thin slabs, 4 feet to $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and from 5 feet to 7 feet long. This feature is not unknown in more "orthodox"

The curved end, side-lines, and rectangular cross-line of the plan suggest (on a very small scale, and of different material) the plan of Winkelbury, near Salisbury. See Allcroft's "Earthwork of England," p. 82. There is a somewhat similar structure, with three cross-walls, at Ranguin Carimai, in Alpes Maritimes, France. It has dry-stone walls, and is over 130 feet long; it in no way resembles the true Castellaras (or French cathairs). We, of course, suggest the resemblance with all reserve, and refer to the "Rapport," No. xxiv., t. vi., p. 37, of the Prehistoric Society of France.

cahers, but is a doubtful criterion of age, being found at the entrances in the very ancient and large forts of Moghane and Turlogh Hill in Clare, the upper work of the remarkable cliff-fort of Doon, near Dingle, and the facing of the entrances in the earth-works of Dunbeg in Fahan, and other Kerry forts. It occurs in some late-looking ring-walls and their annexes, in fences round dolmens and the bases of early huts, It is even found in modern, dry-stone walls, fencing villages among the Berbers, and in the bawns of Ballinalacken and other late peel-towers. The south wall of the Dooneen is 12 feet high and 6 to 8 feet thick, forming a revetment to the hill-side, which may account for its comparative thinness. The south-west corner is carefully constructed, and nearly a right angle; the wall here is 51 feet high, defended outside by the sunken way. At 50 feet from it was a postern, a rock-cutting, 6 feet wide, leading down through the crag ridge, such as we find at Cahercashlaun in the Burren, in a natural cranny. There is a hollow, with several lintels, in the sharply curved south-east corner, perhaps a souterrain or sallyport, such as we have noticed at Creevaghmore caher and in some earth-forts.

The north side is fairly preserved for about 24 feet in the middle reach; it, too, has a postern, 3 feet wide, rebuilt, but the inner posts seem in situ. Large blocks, set in the ground, run westward along the ridge from the end wall, and are each in a continuous curve: so it is probable that the fort extended westward; if this be so, it is more than probable that the present west wall and the slab veneer to the south were afterthoughts of the same period as the central enclosure. No entrance is traceable in the west wall.

An irregular enclosure (unlike any house-foundation of the later centuries and still more unlike early house-sites,² as at Ballyganner and elsewhere) crowns the rock-ridge inside the rampart, 45 feet from the east end. It is roughly 67 feet long and 30 feet wide over all (59 feet by 23 feet inside, and is divided at 21 feet from the west wall. A tapering enclosure, 9 feet long, outside the east end, encloses a pit, probably a souterrain. The main walls are faced by the largest slabs in the caher, one 7 feet long.

The other forts near it are simple, low, earthen rings, often without fosses.

Also in Kildreelig caher, Kerry, described by Mr. P. J. Lynch, Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Ir., vol. xxxii., p. 328.

² There were usually a number of houses in a caher, so we see by the foundations in Burren, by the "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick"; the 1675 partition deed of Cahermachaughten, and the 13th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records of Ireland, p. 71, which latter mentions at Larhoe, Co. Tipperary, "twelve cottages compassed within a great ditch" in 1577.

CAHERHURLEY (28).

20.—Though we have described this fine fort (very briefly) before, the clearing of its area from bushes enables us to examine it for the first time with ease. It is, as we noted, the Caitir Urthaile of Clan Hasneisis in the rental of "1380," deriving its name from the family of Ui Urthaile or O'Hurley. In 1620 it and other places in the district were confirmed to Sir John Mac Namara by patent as "Cariruly." The ruined castle of "Cahirhurly" was held by John Burke in "1675" (a few feet of its wall remain on a steep rock-knoll near the river), while Clonmoher and Ballydonohane belonged to Donough O'Callaghan' and the Coolbricks to John O'Brien. Up a long old by-road up the mountain, or by the pretty glen, deep, dark pools and shallow reaches, the haunt of the water-ousel, of the little river, we reach the fort on the summit of a ridge, half ringed by the stream and valley at its foot. It overlooks the whole northern valley with its lakes, and commands the pass along the great pink-brown flanks of Slieve Bernagh, but still lies on so sunny a spot that we have gathered primroses in its fosse at the beginning of January. It consists of an outer ring 8 to 10 feet thick, and 6 feet high

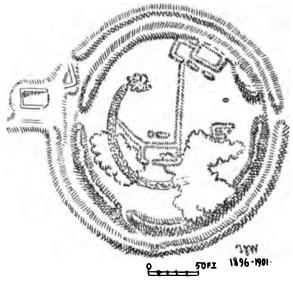


Fig. 8.—Plan of Caherhurley.

¹ In the plan made by us in 1896 (when much of the fort was covered with impenetrable thicket) we only find that the stone wall should be continued in same curve to the eastern house-site; otherwise we have no correction to make. Proceedings, xxii., p. 443.

² The existing O'Callaghans are a collateral branch of the older settlers, being cousing of the Lismore O'Callaghans. They acted as trustees to the old branch of Kilgorey, and in one document seem to be next-of-kin. The old branch died in the male line with Edmond O'Callaghan, who fell in a duel in 1785.

t the field, and 10 feet over the fosse. The latter is 12 to 18 feet wide, nd 4 to 8 feet deep below the field. The main fort has an outer bank, very teep, 12 feet thick and high, over the fosse, and where most perfect 6 feet righ inside, being much levelled round the north segment. The garth is about 80 feet east and west, and over 190 feet north and south. At 14 to 8 feet inside the outer bank was a strong ring-wall; little of the outer acing remains, but three parts of the circle can be traced, and the southern emicircle is a heap 5 feet to 6 feet high. A late house lay inside it, and two thers between it and the bank to the north-east. There are gangways and aps, probably late, to the east and west; and a limekiln in the outer ring ecounts for the disappearance of much of the stonework. The fort measures wer 230 feet over all.

Reserving the parts round the hills, at Killaloe and elsewhere, and the ill-fort of Lisnagree for a later paper, we close this paper, acknowledging ith pleasure the kind help of Mrs. O'Callaghan, Col. George O'Callaghan Vestropp, Mr. Robert Twigge, F.S.A., and the Rev. John Bolton Greer. The ist devoted much time and trouble in helping me in this field-work, and Ir. Twigge gave me especially valued help in elucidating the Life of t. Mochulla of Tulla. The first, besides other help, secured me much local This is important, for the traditional beliefs and names are ying out with the old people, the younger inhabitants of all classes rarely howing the slightest interest in such matters. As for the ancient remains hemselves, they are vanishing, and with the progress of sales will vanish, ike the woods of the country, whenever even the paltriest advantage is upposed to be derivable from their removal. Should this at present hopeless naterialism and vandalism not be mitigated by education, it may be that the nd of the century will hardly find a tithe even of what we see around us of he early remains of the Kingdom of Thomond.

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Fig 1.—Cahercalla, Quin: Triple Fort.



Fig. 2.—Creevagh-beg: Lower Caher.

TESTROPP-TYPES OF THE RING-FORTS, ETC., IN EASTERN CLARE.



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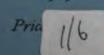
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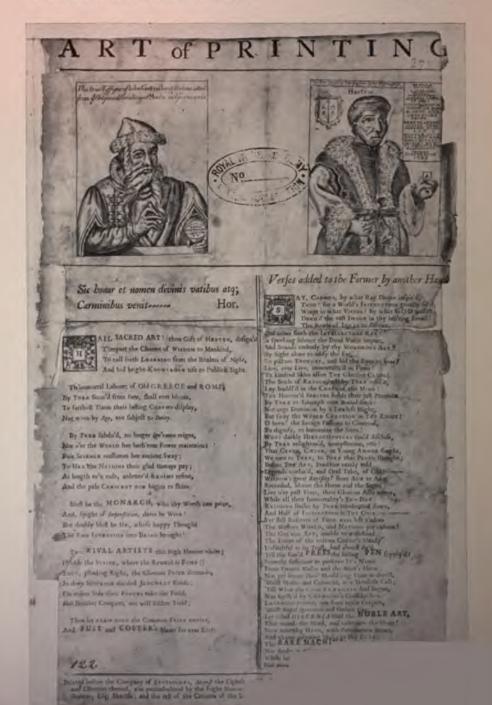


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XVII.

AN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BROADSIDE ON PRINTING.

By E. R. M'CLINTOCK DIX.

PLATE XVIII.

Read JANUARY 11. Ordered for Publication JANUARY 13. Published August 19, 1909.

Some months ago, in the earlier part of the year, in the course of an address which I delivered to An Cumann na teabantann, dealing with Dublin printing of the eighteenth century, I referred to the fact that, on the occasion of the Riding of the Franchises for Dublin in that century. at which the various guilds were represented, it was the custom of the printers or stationers, who belonged to the Guild of St. Luke, to have a hand-press on a cart in the procession, and, while the procession was proceeding, to print some handbill, broadside, or ballad in praise of printing, and to scatter it amongst the spectators as they passed along. I further stated that I had come across, in the British Museum, two or three specimens of such broadsides or handbills, and that I had also met with an Ode upon the subject of Printing by Mrs. Constantine Grierson, the wife of Mr. George Grierson, the famous printer in Dublin, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. I stated at the time, in addition, that I was not aware of any copy of such handbill or broadside existing anywhere in Ireland. It was therefore with great pleasure to myself that my attention was drawn by a friend, who had been searching in one of the Ms. volumes in the Academy (12 F. 44), to a copy of such a broadside poem, printed upon the occasion of the Riding of the Franchises in Dublin, in the year 1728. Why this broadside was inserted in the manuscript volume, which chiefly contains letters, I do not know; but I think the finding of it is sufficiently a matter of interest to submit to the Academy to-day, and to place on record some particulars of it.

It is headed: "The Art of Printing," and the words are in red ink at the top of the broadside. It is plain that the broadside has been cut down; but the measurements, as it now exists, are roughly as follows: 12\frac{3}{4} inches in length by 7\frac{1}{4} inches in width.

There will be noticed at each side of the heading two portraits, one of "Guttemberg" (sic), and the other of "Laurenz Ians Koster" (sic). These are of foreign workmanship, I think. Then there is a motto taken from Horace. Below this two poems are printed, a dividing line separating them and dividing the rest of the broadside into two columns. The poem on the left-hand side consists of six stanzas of unequal length: the first, second, and fourth stanzas contain four lines each, the third and sixth, six lines, and the last only two. No clue is given to the authorship, but some one may recognize it and inform us.

On the right-hand side are fifty-four lines of verse, which it is stated are "by another Hand." The last eight lines especially refer to Ireland, and give the poem local colour. Through both these poems there are a few words printed in red ink. The imprint I give in full: it is very interesting:—"Printed before the Company of Stationers, August 8th, 1728, being the day the Franchises and Bounds of the City of Dublin and Liberties thereof was perambulated by the Right Hon. Sir Nathaniel Whitwell, Lord Mayor, and by Daniel R. Grattan, Esq., Sheriff, and the rest of the Citizens of the said City." Plate XVIII. is reproduced from a photograph of the broadside.

This broadside, printed on this special occasion, is several years earlier than those which I saw in the British Museum, and much larger and more elaborate in execution. So that possibly it was printed beforehand, and not on a small press in actual motion on a cart during the procession.

A reference to this custom of the printers is to be found also in "Ireland Sixty Years Ago," by the Right Hon. John Edward Walsh.

I might add in conclusion, that those of our Members of the Academy, or readers there, who have both the privilege and occasion of examining volumes of manuscripts, if they come across any specimens of printed matter in such volumes would render a service in reporting them, as rare items of printing are thus sometimes discovered, all other trace being lost.

At the time this broadside was printed, George Grierson was King's Printer, and there were besides several other printers in Dublin.

NOTE ADDED IN PRESS.

In the *Dublin Intelligence* for Saturday, 3rd August, 1728, the intended Riding of the Franchises on the 8th of that month is announced; and it is stated that the Corporation of Cutlers, Stainers, &c., had chosen a Typographer

¹ This was the Guild of St. Luke, and included "Stationers," i.e. Printers and Publishers.

who had prepared a Printing Press "to be worked at in the Eyes of the World from a Carriage drawn by six Horses"; and in the Dublin Weekly Journal of the 10th of August, in the same year, a very brief report occurs of the Corporation of Cutlers, &c., having had a printing Press on a carriage drawn by six fine mares, and one of the poems printed on it during the procession is given; and it is one of the two appearing on the broadside mentioned in the foregoing paper, viz.: that beginning: "Hail! Sacred Art," &c., and ending "And Fust and Coster's name [sic] for ever live." It is stated that as the procession marched along, the poem was printed and dispersed to the populace.

XVIII.

NOTE UPON THE LEAVES OF THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN DUBLIN DISCOVERED IN THE ACADEMY.

BY E. R. McCLINTOCK DIX.

Read JANUARY 11. Ordered for Publication JANUARY 13. Published AUGUST 19, 1909.

For the purpose of putting on record the discovery in the Academy of several leaves of the Book of Common Prayer, printed in Dublin in 1550-51, I subjoin the following statement:—

In an old book cover which was in the Strong Room of the Academy, there was attached an inner book cover, and in the inner one the leaves of the Book of Common Prayer, some thirty-four and part of another leaf, with two blank leaves, were found. About half of the leaves were attached to one side of the inner cover, and the rest to the other. There were also numerous smaller fragments which have not yet been identified, but which evidently are parts of some other edition or editions of the Book of Common Prayer. The outer cover is plain in form and with very little tooling on it; it may perhaps be dated before 1635—say, about 1630. The inner cover, which was attached to, and used to strengthen, the outer one, is much earlier in date. When last going to London, I was allowed to bring both covers over, and submit them to Mr. Cyril Davenport, the special authority on binding in the British Museum. This inner cover is stamped with lines producing diamond patterns by crossing one another; and in the "diamonds" so formed is a tool impression which, in the opinion of Mr. Davenport, resembles one used by Berthelet, who was probably a grand-uncle of Humfrey Powell, Dublin's first printer. Mr. Davenport thinks that this binding was probably contemporary with the printing of the Prayer Book, or at least between 1550 and 1560. I also showed it to another expert in London, who gave it as his opinion that it was a contemporary binding—in other words, that this inner cover was that in which the copy of this early Book of Common Prayer was bound. It seems probable, then, that the Prayer Book of 15511 having fallen out of date -later revisions having been authorized and coming into use—this old book, with some of its leaves, was taken and used to strengthen the later binding

¹ It was that known as the first Book of Edward VI.

or outer cover. What book or work was contained in the outer or later cover is not known. It was empty and without a trace of its contents or of any lettering.

The leaves of the Book of Common Prayer were pasted together, and there was some difficulty in detaching them. This, however, was done by Mr. Tucker, one of the staff of the Public Record Office, Four Courts; and then the leaves were mounted on guards, and bound in the form in which they now appear. Each leaf has been compared with the copy of the Prayer Book in Trinity College, and found to be identical: even the watermark on the paper is the same. Each leaf found is different from the others, and only one is wrongly numbered. The discovery of so many leaves is remarkable; they form nearly a fourth of the entire volume. Further, the copy in Trinity College is much cut down, while the recently discovered leaves have larger margins. The average size of each leaf is 11½ inches by 8½ inches. The measurement of the printing on a page is about 9 by 5½ inches, or, including heading, 9½ by 5½.

I give below the number of each folio as it appears on the top right-hand corner of each leaf. This Book of Common Prayer was not paged, but each leaf or folio was numbered. I also give opposite the folio number the signature where it appears at the foot of that numbered leaf. On only one leaf (fol. exi, verso) does an initial letter appear.

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Fol. viii
     xiii
           \mathbf{B}\mathbf{v}
     xiv
     xv
     xvi
     xxi
           Cv
     xxii
     xxiii
     xxiiii
     xxix Dv
     XXX
     xxxi
     xxxii
    xxxvi Eiiii
     xxxix
   [wrongly given as "xxxviii"]
```

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[xli] F [fol. no. partly torn off]
 xlii Fii
 xliii Fiii
 xliiii Fiiii
xlix G
1
      Gii
liii
       Gv
liiii
lvii
           [half of leaf only]
lviii Hii
lix Hiii
     Hv
lxi
lxv I
lxvii Iiii
lxviii [Iiiii] [signature nearly all torn off]
lxxi
cv
    0
cxi
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The Academy is, I think, to be congratulated upon being the owners of so considerable a fragment of the first book printed in Ireland, especially bearing in mind that only two copies are extant, and that this is the first occasion upon which any fragment of it has been found, so far as is recorded anywhere.

Every early binding ought to be carefully examined before it is thrown away, as it was a general custom of early binders to utilize old materials in binding later books; and by this means many fragments of early printing have been from time to time discovered.

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[xli] F [fol. no. partly torn off]
 xlii Fii
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 xliiii Fiiii
 xlix
 1
       Gii
 liii
       Gv
 liiii
 lvii
           [half of leaf only]
 lviii Hii
 lix Hiii
lxi Hv
 lxv I
lxvii Iiii
 lxviii [Iiiii] [signature nearly all torn off]
lxxi
cv O
cxi
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ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

HISTORY.

[Lists of Papers on other subjects-scientific, literary, and archæological-may be obtained on application.]

ATKINSON (R.): On the Function of an Academy, in especial of the Royal Irish Academy. 1906. pp. 11. 8vo. 6d.

BERNARD (J. H.): Uncial MS. of S. Cyril of Alexandria, written on

Papyrus. 1892. pp. 20. 4 plates. 4to. 6s. BERNARD (J. H.): Calendar of Documents in the Dignitas Decani in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. 1905. pp. 27. 8vo. 6d.

BERRY (H. F.): An unpublished MS. Inquisition (A.D. 1258), relating to the Dublin City Watercourse. 1902. pp. 8, 8vo. 1s.

BERRY (H. F.): Gild of S. Anne, S. Audoen's Church, Dublin. 1904. pp. 86. 1 plate. Svo. 15. 6d.

BERRY (H. F.): Ancient Charters in the Liber Albus Ossoriensis. 1908. pp. 11. 8vo. 6d.

Bibliography, Irish. By Sir J. T. GILBERT. Edited by E. R. M'C. DIX. 1904. pp. 26. Plate and illustrations. 8vo. 1s.

BURY (J. B.): A Life of S. Patrick (Colgan's Tertia Vita). 1903. pp. 64. 4to. 2s.

BURY (J. B.): Itinerary of Patrick in Connaught according to Tirechán-1903. pp. 16. 8vo. 6d.

DIX (E. R. M.C.), editor of GILBERT: Irish Bibliography. 1904. pp. 26. 1 plate. Illustrations. 8vo. 1s.

DIX (E. R. M'C.): A very rare Kilkenny-Printed Proclamation, and William Smith, its Printer, 1908, pp. 4. 1 plate, 8vo. 18.

DIX (E. R. M'C.): Humfrey Powell, the first Dublin Printer. 1908. pp. 4. 4 plates. 8vo. 1s.

DIX (E. R. M'C.): An Early Eighteenth-Century Broadside on Printing. 1909. pp. 3. 1 plate, 8vo. 6d.

DIX (E. R. M.C.): Note upon the Leaves of the First Book printed in Dublin discovered in the Academy. 1909. pp. 3. 8vo. 6d.

Dublin: Commercial History of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century. By C. L. FALKINER. 1903. pp. 30. 4 plates. 8vo. 6d. Dublin: Gild of S. Anne, S. Audoen's Church, Dublin. By H. F. BERRY.

1904. pp. 86. 1 plate. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Dublin City Watercourse: An unpublished MS. Inquisition (A.D. 1258).

By H. F. BERRY. 1902. pp. 8. 8vo. 1s.

FALKINER (C. L.): Phoenix Park, Dublin: its Origin and History. 1901. pp. 24. 8vo. 5s.

FALKINER (C. L.): The Irish Guards, 1661-1798. 1902. pp. 23.

FALKINER (C. L.): Commercial History of Dublin in the Eighteenth

Century. 1903, pp. 30. 4 plates. 8vo. 6d. FALKINER (C. L.): The Counties of Ireland: their Origin, Constitution,

and Delimitation. 1903. pp. 26. 8vo. 2s. 10d.

FALKINER (C. I.): The Parliament of Ireland under the Tudor

Sovereigns, 1905, pp. 34. 8vo. 6d. FALKINER (C. L.): Barnaby Rich's "Remembrances of the state of Ireland, 1612," with notices of other Reports by the same writer, 1906, pp. 18. 8vo. 6d.

FALKINER (C. L.): The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland.

1907. pp. 43. 8vo. 15.

FERGUSON (SIR S.): The Patrician Documents. 1885. pp. 68. 410.

GILBERT (Sir J. T.): Irish Bibliography. Edited by E. R. M'C. Drx. 1904. pp. 26. Plate and illustrations, 8vo. 18.

GREEN (W. S.): Armada Ships on the Kerry Coast, 1909. pp. 7. 2 plate. 8vo. od.

KNOX (H. T.): Glg-mills and Drying Kilns near Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo. 1907. pp. 10. 8vo. 6d.

LANE-POOLE (S.): First M. hammedan Treaties with Christians. 1904pp. 30. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

LAWLOR (H. J.): Primate Ussher's Library before roat. 1901. pp. 49. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

LAWLOR (H. J.): A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin. 1908. pp. 93. 8vo. 25

LAWLOR (H. J.): Calendar of the Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossery. 1908, pp. 50. 8vo. 1s.

Parliament of Ireland under the Tudor Sovereigns. By C. L. FALKINER. 1905. pp. 34. 8vo. 6d.

Patrick: Itinerary of Patrick in Connaught according to Tfrechan-

By J. B. BURY. 1903. pp. 17. 8vo. 6d. Patrick: A Life of St. Patrick (Colgan's Tertia Vita). Edited by

J. B. BURY. 1903. pp. 64. 4to, 2s.
Patrick: The Patrician Documents. By SIR S. FERGUSON. 1885.

Patrick! Libri Sancti Patricii. By N. J. D. WHITE. 1905. pp. 126.

8vo. 2s.
Patrick: The Paris Manuscript of St. Patrick's Latin Writings. 1965. pp. 11. 8yo. 6d.

Phoenix Park, Dublin: Its Origin and History. By C. L. FALKINGR. 1901. pp. 24. 8vo. 5s. Stokes (G. T.): Marsh's Library, Dublin, and an Original Indulgence

from Cardinal Wolsey. 1897. pp. 13. 8vo. 2s.

Ussher's Books in Trinity College, Dublin. By H. J. LAWLOR. 1901. pp. 49. 8vo. 25. 6d.

WESTROPP (T. J.): External Evidences bearing on the historic character of the "Wars of Turlough" by John, son of Rocy MacGrath. 1903. pp. 60. 5 plates, 410. 28. 10d.

WHITE (N. J. D.): Libri Sancti Patricii. 1905. pp. 126. Svo. 21. WHITE (N. J. D.): The Paris Manuscript of St. Patrick's Latin

Writings. 1905. pp. 11, 8vo. 6d. WRITE (N. J. D.): Elias Bouhéreau of La Rochelle, First Public Librarian in Ireland: 1908, pp. 33. Svo. 18.

WOOD (HERBERT): The Templars to Ireland, 1907, pp. 50. 8vo. od.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

VOLUME XXVII, SECTION C, APPENDIX

JOHN KELLS INGRAM

AND

ROBERT ATKINSON

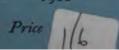


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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

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|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----|-------|----------------------|-----------|---------------------------|--|
| VOLUM | E I. (1886-1840) | is | Volum | E I. | 1st Ser. | Sci., Pol. Lit. & Antiqq. | |
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| 18. | IX. (1864-1866) | | - 11 | IX. | 11 | - 10 | |
| 9 | X. (1866-1869) | | - 11 | X. | - 11 | | |
| +1 | XI. (1870-1874) | | - 0 | | 2nd Ser. | Science. | |
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| 93. | | 11 | 0 | III. | 10 | 16 | |
| 46 | XIV. (1884-1888) | | 411 | IV. | 100 | and the same | |
| - 9 | XV. (1870-1879) | | - 0 | I. | - 11 | Pol. Lit. & Antiqq. | |
| 100 | XVI. (1879-1888) | | 100 | П. | | and the same of | |
| - 0 | XVII. (1888-1891) | | - 11 | | 3rd Ser. | Sci., Pol. Lit. & Antiqq. | |
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| 31 | XXIV. (1902-1904) | | | | | | |
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| ., B. Biological, Geological, and Chemical Science. | | | | | | | |
| C. Archeology, Linguistic, and Literature. | | | | | | | |
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| 99.7 | XXVII. (Current Vo | lun | ae) | | | | |

APPENDIX.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

JOHN KELLS INGRAM AND ROBERT ATKINSON.

Reprinted from the REPORT OF THE COUNCIL for the year 1907-1908.

I.

JOHN KELLS INGRAM was born on July 7th, 1823, at the Rectory of Templecarne, County Donegal, a parish of which his father was then curate, and came of a family of Scottish Presbyterians, settled since the seventeenth century in the County Down. His grandfather, John Ingram, who established a considerable business as a linenbleacher at Lisdrumhure, now Glenanne, County Armagh, conformed to the Established Church; and it is interesting to note that the grandfather of the author of "Who Fears to Speak of '98?" was active in the Volunteer Movement of 1782, raising at his own expense the corps known as the Lisdrumhure Volunteers. Rev. William Ingram, who married in 1817 Elizabeth Cooke, died in 1829, leaving a family of five children to the care of his widow. The latter, in deference to the desire of her husband that their children should receive the best possible education, removed to Newry; and it was from Dr. Lyons's school in that town that Ingram entered Trinity College, Dublin, of which his father had been a Scholar. He matriculated on October 13th, 1837, at the early age of thirteen, obtaining first place at Entrance, and gained a Sizarship in the following year-distinctions which were followed in due order by a Scholarship in 1840, and a Senior Moderatorship in Mathematics in

[1]

It was in the year following that the poem entitled, "The Memory of the Dead," by which Ingram's name is most widely known, was published in the Nation newspaper. Two years later he presented himself at the Fellowship Examination, obtaining the In 1846 he was elected Fellow of Trinity Madden Premium. College. The long and honourable record of his subsequent academic distinctions is to be found in the Dublin University Calendar for 1906 (vol iii., p. 506), and need not be recited here. These honours culminated in the Vice-Provostship, to which he succeeded in 1898. But it is a fact not generally known that many years earlier Ingram all but attained to the dignity of Provost. Only his closest friends were aware how narrowly he missed nomination to the highest position in the College, when, in 1881, Mr. Gladstone was called upon to recommend to the Crown a successor to Provost Humphrey Lloyd.

Very shortly after gaining his Fellowship, on January 11th, 1847, Ingram was elected a member of this Academy. His long and intimate association with this institution thus extended over a period of above sixty years. For no fewer than forty-three of these he was continuously a member of our governing body-a record for which there is no parallel in the past, and which is little likely to be equalled in the future. He signalized his election by two papers on "Certain Properties of Curves and Surfaces of the Second Degree," and at this period made more than one contribution on geometrical subjects to the Transactions of the Dublin Philosophical Society, of which he was one of the founders.* This branch of knowledge had always a great attraction for Ingram; and of it he observed late in life that no study had ever given him greater intellectual pleasure. But though his earliest work here was scientific, it was as a member of the Committee of Polite Literature that he was, in 1856, first elected to the Council of the Academy. To complete the formal record of his career within these walls, it may here be stated that in 1860 he became Secretary of the Council—an office which he filled till 1878, receiving on his resignation of its duties an expression of the Academy's "high sense of his distinguished and constant services, and their sincere regret at his retirement"; that he was on several occasions nominated a Vice-President, serving in all twelve years in

John Kells Ingram.

that capacity; and finally that in 1892, on the death of Bishop Reeves, he was unanimously elected President, and filled the Chair of the Academy until 1896. It should be added that it was in virtue of his position as Senior Vice-President that, in the absence through illness of the President, Sir Samuel Ferguson, it fell to Ingram to preside at the festivities held in 1886 on the memorable occasion of the Academy's Centenary.

The honourable and now lengthy roll of those distinguished men who have adorned the office of President of this Academy contains the name of none more qualified than Ingram to guide and stimulate the activity of the Academy in the several provinces of learning with which it is concerned. But varied as were his attainments, encyclopædic as was his knowledge, alike in its range and its exactitude, his extreme fastidiousness in relation to his own work, and his almost unexampled modesty, were scarcely less remarkable. He was always much more ready to encourage the inquiries of others than to exploit the results of his own. His chief intellectual passion was a passion for facts, for order and for accuracy, for that definite ascertainment of positive truth which it is not the least part of the functions of this Academy to foster. Remarkable as was his critical faculty, it was only when he felt satisfied that he was presenting some absolutely fresh contribution to exact knowledge that he could be induced to bring forward a paper. Thus the number of his contributions to the Proceedings of the Academy-a list of which is appended to this notice—was not great, regard being had to the length and intimacy of his association with its work. As he himself stated in the remarkable speech which he delivered in reply to the toast of his health proposed by the Viceroy, Lord Aberdeen, on the occasion of the Academy's Centenary, his intellectual activity lay for the most part in other fields, and he was content that the main part of his work for us here should be ministerial. A further reason for the paucity of his communications may be found in the zest with which he applied himself in middle life to the study of economic and sociological questions, the region of inquiry in which the most enduring results of Ingram's labours were achieved. He was an active member of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, filling its Presidential Chair in 1878-9; and he also took an active interest in the work of such bodies as the Trades Union Congress of 1880.

[3]

His History of Political Economy, 1888, and his History of Slavery and Serfdom, 1895—both works of lasting value and importance in the literature of economic and social science—may be said to have had their origin in Ingram's connexion with the Statistical Society: and his contributions to its Journal contain many interesting illustrations alike of his remarkable powers of exposition and of his humanitarian zeal.* Nevertheless, although in the course of sixty years Ingram produced no more than six Academy Papers, his contributions are admirably representative of the wide range of his interests. The geometrical studies contained in the papers already mentioned were followed, in 1858, by a paper on the "Opus Majus of Roger Bacon," in which he showed that the missing seventh part of that work, devoted to moral philosophy, existed in the manuscript of Bacon's treatise in Trinity College, Dublin, though unaccountably omitted by Jebb in his edition of Bacon's work. This omission has since been rectified in Mr. J. H. Bridges' edition of the Opus Majus. An interval of twenty-two years was suffered to elapse between this important paper and a "Note on a Fragment of an Ante-Hieronymian Version of the Gospels," read in 1880, which was the first-fruits of Ingram's appointment, in 1879, to the charge of the Library of Trinity College. This was followed, in 1882, by a paper "On Two Collections of Medieval Moralised Tales," and later in the same year by another on "The Earliest English Translation of the De Imitatione Christi." In this paper he gave the Academy, in what proved to be the last of his contributions to our Proceedings, an account of that previously unknown fifteenth-century version of Thomas a Kempis's wonderful work, which he subsequently (1893) edited for the Early English Texts Society.

But by far the most characteristic exhibition of the qualities by which Ingram was so peculiarly fitted to fill the Chair of this Academy was, appropriately, that which he gave us in fulfilment of the duties of the presidential office. His address at the Centenary Banquet, when he contrived, within the limits of an after-dinner

^{*} Dr. Ingram's labours in connexion with the Statistical Society have been recorded in a "Memoir of John Kells Ingram, Ll.D., late Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and sometime President of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland," by C. Litton Falkiner, M.A., M.R.I.A. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, and Walker. 1907.

John Kells Ingram.

speech, to describe, with admirable felicity, the history and functions of the Academy, has been already adverted to. In the more formal address which he delivered on November 30th, 1892, he applied himself to the task of providing a complete survey of what the Academy had already accomplished, and of the work that, in his judgment, lay before it. In this address he set forth, with all the charm of consummate knowledge, joined to a complete intellectual sympathy, the functions of the Academy as "a common ground on which Irishmen, otherwise of different views, may meet as friends, for mutual assistance and encouragement in the pursuit of truth, in the cultivation of letters, and in the illustration of our National Memorials." In the concluding session of his term of office, it fell to him to expound to the Academy, in accordance with a timehonoured custom, the objects of those Cunningham Memoirs—our Mémoires Couronnés, as he aptly called them-which had appeared during his Presidency. The subjects discussed on that occasion included Professor D. J. Cunningham's "Contribution to the Surface Anatomy of the Cerebral Hemispheres," Dr. Mahaffy's Memoir on the "Flinders Petrie Papyri," and Professor Haddon's on "The Decorative Art of British New Guinea." Those who heard his masterly exposition of the conclusions of these very dissimilar monographs, were left to marvel upon which topic Ingram spoke with greatest authority and ease.

Though Ingram survived for upwards of ten years after the termination of his period of office as President, failing health forbade his taking any further part in the work of the Academy. But he continued in his retirement to follow its proceedings with a lively interest, and was zealous to the last in encouraging younger men to labour in its service. That his intellectual activity in these last years was, nevertheless, vigorous and sustained, is proved by the series of publications, all belonging to this period, in which he expounded and illustrated the Comtist system, of which he was an earnest adherent. He died at his residence, 38, Upper Mount Street, Dublin, on May 1st, 1907, and was buried in Mount Jerome Cemetery. His portrait, painted by Miss Sara H. Purser, R.H.A., was presented to the Academy on February 22nd, 1897, in commemoration of his presidency, and provides a faithful memorial of one whose memory will long be cherished by those who enjoyed the privilege of his

friendship, and whose name and fame will for ever add to the renown of this Academy.

Ingram married, on July 23rd, 1862, Madeline, daughter of James Johnston Clark, D.L., of Largantogher, Maghera, County Londonderry, the lady in whose honour several of the remarkable sonnets, published in 1901, in *Sonnets and Other Poems*, were written. By her, who died on October 7th, 1889, he had four sons and two daughters.

Appended is a list of Ingram's contributions to the *Proceedings* of the Academy, and also what is believed to be a complete list of his published writings.*

APPENDIX:

BRING A LIST OF DR. INGRAM'S PUBLICATIONS.

I. Contributions to "Proceedings."

April 26th, 1847. A Note on Certain Properties of the Surfaces of the Second Degree.

May 24th, 1847. A Note on Certain Properties of Curves and Surfaces of the Second Degree.

Jan. 25th, 1858. On the Opus Majus of Roger Bacon.

Jan. 26th, 1880. Note on a Fragment of an Ante-Hieronymian

Version of the Gospels in the Library of

Trinity College, Dublin.

April 10th, 1882. On Two Collections of Medieval Moralised Tales.

May 22nd, 1882. On the Earliest English Translation of the

"De Imitatione Christi."

II. Published Works.

- 1. The Weak Endings of Shakespeare: in The New Shakespeare Society's Transactions, 1874.
 - 2. A History of Political Economy. London, 1888.†

^{*}The list appended is not in any sense a scientific bibliography. A "Chronological list of the Books, Tracts, and Various Writings of John Kells Ingram," by T. W. Lyster, Librarian of the National Library of Ireland, is in course of preparation.

[†] This Work, like the History of Slavery, is an expansion of an article on Political Economy in the Ninth Edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," for

John Kells Ingram.

- 3. The Earliest English Translation of the First Three Books of the *De Imitatione Christi*. Edited, with preface, notes and glossary, for the *Early English Texts Society*. London, 1893.
 - 4. A History of Slavery and Serfdom. London, 1895.
 - 5. Sonnets and Other Poems. London, 1900.
 - 6. Outlines of the History of Religion. London, 1900.
- 7. Passages from the Letters of Auguste Comte, selected and translated. London, 1901.
- 8. Human Nature and Morals according to Auguste Comte; with some Notes illustrative of the Principles of Positivism. London, 1901.
- 9. Practical Morals: A Treatise on Universal Education; with Appendix containing plans of two Unwritten Works of Auguste Comte. London, 1904.
 - 10. The Final Transition: a Sociological Study. London, 1905.

III. Lectures and Addresses.

- A. Dublin Afternoon Lectures:
 - 1. On Shakespeare. 1863.
 - 2. On Tennyson. 1864.
- B. Addresses and Papers read before the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, or printed in its Journal.
 - 1. Considerations on the State of Ireland. 1863.
 - A Comparison between the English and Irish Poor Laws, with respect to the Conditions of Relief. 1864.
 - The Organization of Charity and the Boarding-out of Pauper Children. 1875.
 - Additional Facts and Arguments on the Boarding-out of Pauper Children. 1875.
 - The Present Position and Prospects of Political Economy, being the Introductory Address delivered in the Section of Economic Science and Statistics of the British Association in Dublin. 1878.

which work Ingram wrote several notices of eminent economists. The expanded work has been translated into as many as ten languages, including Japanese.

- 6. Work and the Workman: an Address to the Trades Union Congress. 1880.*
- 7. Memoir of the late William Neilson Hancock, LL.D., q.c.
- C. The Library of Trinity College, Dublin; being the opening Address delivered at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Library Association of the United Kingdom, September 30th, 1884.
 - D. Contributions to Hormathona, 1874-1891:-
 - 1. Miscellaneous Notes. Vol. i., pp. 247-250.
 - Greek and Latin Etymology in England. Part i. Vol. i., pp. 407-440.
 - 3. On Oauá and Oauauis in Pinder. Vol. ii., pp. 198-216.
 - Greek and Latin Etymology in England. Part ii. Vol. ii., pp. 428–442.
 - Bishop Butler and Mr. Matthew Arnold. A Note. Vol. ii., pp. 505, 506.
 - Notes on Latin Lexicography. Part i. Vol. iv., pp. 301-316.
 - Notes on Latin Lexicography. Part ii. Vol. iv., pp. 402-412.
 - 8. A Correction. Vol. vi., pp. 306, 307.
 - Etymological Notes on Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary.
 Vol. viii., pp. 326-344.
- E. Kottabos, vol. i., p. 329. Aemilia et Chloe: a rendering of Prior's Eupholia and Cloe, in asclepiadic verse.
- F. Contributions to the Transactions of the Dublin Philosophical Society:—
 - 1. "Geometrical Properties of Certain Surfaces," 1842.
 - 2. "Chordal Envelopes," 1843.
 - 3. "On the properties of Inverse Curves and Surfaces," 1843.

^{*} A translation of this Address appeared in La Revue Occidentale for March, 1881, and was issued as a separate publication in Paris in the same year.

II.

ROBERT ATKINSON was the only child of his parents, John and Anne Atkinson, and was born near Gateshead in 1839. At the early age of eight, he became a pupil at Anchorage Grammar School, in Northumberland, close to his home, where his studies were directed by the Head Master, Rev. William Bennett, afterwards Rector of Gateshead, until, in his eighteenth year, he entered as a pensioner at Trinity College, Dublin. The Matriculation Book shows that July 2nd, 1856, was the date of his entrance; but he does not appear to have proceeded immediately with his studies at the University. The years 1857 and 1858 were spent on the Continent; and it was at Liége that the foundations of Atkinson's extraordinarily minute knowledge of the Romance languages were laid. On his return to Ireland he was, for some time, an assistant-master at Kilkenny College. Thus, it was not until December 16th, 1863, that he took his degree. He had obtained a Classical Scholarship in the previous year. Atkinson's parents had originally designed that their son should embrace the clerical profession; and it was primarily with a view to his taking orders as a clergyman of the Established Church that the lad was sent to Trinity College. But his remarkable bent for the scientific study of languages had been clearly manifested before the close of his course as an undergraduate; and Atkinson determined to adopt an academic career.

In 1866 he proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts, and in 1869 to that of Doctor of Laws, in the University of Dublin; and in the latter year his nomination as Professor of the Romance Languages in Trinity College enabled him to enter definitely upon his life's Two years later came his appointment to the Chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. This position he continued to fill for the lengthened period of thirty-six years, until, less than a year before his death, failing physical powers obliged him to relinquish its duties. Those duties he discharged with equal capacity and enthusiasm throughout his long tenure of a post which is one of much practical importance in relation to the training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. Atkinson possessed in a remarkable degree the power of communicating to his pupils the contagion of his own enthusiasm for learning. By his constant insistence on the importance of getting to the root of things, and of taking nothing for granted, he made a strong impression on the best minds, and continued throughout

his career to turn out a succession of men fully fitted to distinguish themselves in the most difficult fields of Oriental study. One of his pupils has testified to the abiding results of Atkinson's teaching and influence in these remarkable terms:—"When one was his pupil, one had to progress. There was nothing else to do. He would teach on no other terms; and I never heard of a pupil who failed to comply with them. Year after year his pupils took the highest marks in one Oriental language or another. But his influence did not stop there. After their arrival in India it continued; and several—indeed most—of the Indian civilians who have distinguished themselves in the field of Oriental studies have been his pupils. As for myself, when I bade him good-bye in 1873, his last words were to set me the task of my life."

But Atkinson's energies were very far from being exhausted in the sedulous discharge of his professorial duties. He was not content with the continuous conquest of difficult Oriental dialects, nor yet with that rapid assimilation of practically all the European languages which his amazing powers as a linguist enabled him to accomplish with such surprising ease. But over and above these studies, he early threw himself, with all that intellectual ardour for which he was conspicuous, into the study of the Celtic languages. Within a few years of his nomination to the Chair of Comparative Philology, his election as a member of this Academy opened up a new and, as the event was to prove, a most fruitful field for the exercise of his linguistic talents. One of the earliest landmarks in his career as an Irish scholar was provided by his appointment in 1884 as Todd Professor of the Celtic languages in this Academy; and the delivery of his Introductory Lecture on Irish Lexicography on April 13th, 1885.

Atkinson's connexion with the Academy began in 1875. On January 11th of that year he was elected a member, and at once began to take an active share in our work here. Within two months of his election he became a Member of our Council; and in 1876 he was chosen Librarian. He held this office for two years, until in 1878 he succeeded Dr. Ingram as Secretary of Council. This position he filled with unwearying assiduity and to the great advantage of the Academy for the long space of twenty-three years, until he finally attained to the highest honour in our gift, being elected President of the Academy in 1901 in succession to the Earl of Rosse. Many

among us well remember the earnestness with which, during his service as Secretary of Council, Atkinson threw himself into every matter affecting the business of the Academy, the zeal with which he laboured to secure efficiency in all its departments, and the cogent vehemence with which he advanced and enforced his views whenever the need for discussion arose. Many more are able to recall with what vigour he carried the same aspirations and the like qualities into the Presidential Chair. Those who do not so remember him will find a sufficient illustration of these characteristics in the pamphlets entitled "The Proposed Charter of the Royal Dublin Society" (1883), and "The Proposed New By-Laws of the Royal Dublin Society" (1889), which were provoked by his apprehension of injury to the welfare of the Academy. Atkinson's active association with our work lasted almost to the very close of his career; for in 1906, on the termination of his period of office as President, he was again elected to the Council, of which body he was thus continuously a member for the long space of thirty-two years—a period of continuous service only exceeded among his contemporaries by the unique record of Dr. Ingram. Some time before the close of his Presidential term Atkinson had betrayed symptoms of failing health; and already, before the portrait painted in his honour for the Academy by Miss Purser could be executed, he had lost much of that vigorous physical energy which had once been almost as remarkable as his intellectual activity. In the latter part of 1907 his decline was rapid, his failing powers obliging him to resign his Chair in Trinity College. He died at his residence, Clareville, Rathmines, on January 10th, 1908, and was buried at Walton-Wrays Cemetery, Skipton, Yorkshire. He had married, December 28th, 1863, at Gateshead, within a few days after taking his degree, Hannah Maria Harbutt, by whom he is survived.

It may be said without the slightest risk of exaggeration that, apart from his professorial duties, Atkinson found in his association with this Academy the main interest of his life; and he regarded his election as President as the crowning incident in his career. Indeed the principal event in that career, outside his connexion with the University on the one hand, and the Academy on the other—viz., his appointment in 1888, by the Brehon Law Commissioners, to edit the concluding volume of the Ancient Laws

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of Ireland-was no more than the public recognition of the eminence he had won in these two spheres of his activity. No occupant of our Chair has ever exceeded him in zeal for the honour and interests of the Academy; and none certainly has entertained a higher view of its importance and possibilities. What that view was is well set out in his Presidential Address "On the Function of an Academy, in especial of the Royal Irish Academy," delivered from the Chair of the Academy on February 28th, 1906 an address which, though composed under somewhat acute physical disabilities, adequately indicates his conception alike of the objects which we should set before us here, and the means by which we may In that address, which embodied, as he best seek to attain them. observed, the thoughts of one "who had spent most of his life in close connexion with the Academy," Atkinson insisted strongly on the necessity of combining imagination and sympathy with that scientific analysis of facts which he considered indispensable. associations, with special aims, can be safely entrusted," he considered, "with the duty of accumulating masses of fact; but the Academy should keep in view the not less imperative necessity of correlation and theory"-"the process of accumulating facts is in itself liable to be rather discouraging unless there is something of the shaping spirit of the imagination about them, issuing in some attempt at even hypothetic colligation." This was the key-note of the address; and many who listened to it must have felt how fully his own practice had been in accord with his precept. For those who recall Atkinson's tenure of the Chair will remember how constantly and how successfully he ever sought in summing up our discussions here to place every contribution to our proceedings in its proper relation to the general body of knowledge on the subject to which it related, and how fond he was of emphasizing the point in which the paper appealed, as he urged that every paper should, to "the general interest of human beings."

Of the extent of Atkinson's attainments in those varied departments of linguistic study in which he obtained so great a mastery, it is impossible to offer any adequate appreciation here. Some notion of their breadth and range may, however, be derived from the list, printed as an Appendix to this notice, of his miscellaneous papers, particularly his contributions to our own *Proceedings*, and to the pages

of Hermathena—a list which exhibits him as discoursing with equal authority on Old Russian, Medieval French, and South Coptic Texts. But some attempt must be made to estimate the extent and value of those contributions to the study of Irish which occupied Atkinson throughout the whole period of his association with the Academy, and upon which his fame as a scholar must chiefly rest.

For, wide as was the range of his linguistic studies and teaching, it is with the Celtic languages that Atkinson's published work is mainly occupied. These had long possessed a peculiar interest for him, on account of their importance to comparative philology; but what determined him to devote himself especially to this branch of scholarship was the invitation which he received in 1876 from the Council of the Academy to undertake the editorship of the Book of Leinster. The series of facsimile reproductions of Irish uss. had been begun with the publication of the Leabhar na h Vidhri in 1870. In preparing that volume and the Leabhar Breac, the Council had relied principally on the descriptions drawn up by O'Curry for the Academy's Catalogue of Irish Mss. But when it was determined to publish the Book of Leinster, no such assistance was available. It was necessary, therefore, to find an editor thoroughly conversant with the ancient language; and the Council determined to entrust the task to Atkinson. Certain difficulties and delays retarded its execution; but by the year 1880 he had completed his examination of the us., and his Introduction was ready for the press. This Introduction is a model of scholarly analysis, and at once placed its author among the acknowledged masters of the subject. contains a concise summary of the contents of each item, as well as an elaborate study of the history of the ms., and an Index of first lines. He also supervised the actual transcription of the whole us. made by that excellent scribe, Joseph O'Longan.

At the request of the Council, Atkinson subsequently acted as editor of the photographic reproductions of the Book of Ballymote and the Yellow Book of Lecan, introducing each of these by a description of the contents similar to that which he had made for the Book of Leinster. By the publication of these three great codices a vast amount of material was brought within the reach of Celtic scholars in all parts of the world; and to this more than to any other cause it is due that so great an advance has been made in the last

thirty years in the understanding of our ancient literature. It is often said that the task of forwarding this study has been left entirely to foreign scholars; but without seeking to underestimate our debt to France and Germany, we may fairly claim that the series of publications which the Academy began in 1870, and has since continued at a great expense of labour and money, has given to Irish scholarship the greatest impetus it has received since the publication of the Grammatica Celtica.

Soon after the publication of the Book of Leinster, Atkinson was entrusted with the direction of another undertaking of much wider The preparation of a complete Dictionary of the Irish Language was a project which the Academy had long had at heart. But great difficulties stood in the way; and down to 1880 no step had been taken towards making an actual beginning. Atkinson did not underrate the obstacles to be overcome; but the project was one which appealed to his interest in linguistic science, and his passion for work was too ardent to be easily daunted. This is not the place to describe the immense labour required of the lexicographer, or to discuss the special obstacles he must surmount in the case of such a language as the Irish. It is necessary, however, to call attention to two peculiar difficulties which had to be encountered; difficulties which were not necessarily inherent in the work, but were due to the deplorable apathy with which the great mass of the people of Ireland has until quite recently regarded its literary inheritance. These were: first, the want of money; and, secondly, the want of skilled The only funds available were the annual grant from the Government, and the few hundred pounds of the Hudson Gift. With such narrow means, it was impossible to employ more than one or two assistants on a work where a score would have been few enough. But even if the funds had been as abundant as they were scanty, there remained the greater difficulty of finding workers with the necessary qualifications. Very few persons could be met with who possessed at once sufficient acquaintance with the language and also the scholarly training indispensable for such a task. Under such conditions the task was begun; a small number of workers were employed to collect material; and their collections have by slow degrees accumulated down to the present day. Meanwhile, Atkinson, as editor, was engaged on studies intended to prepare

the way for the work in its ultimate form. He planned a series of publications, which, however, he did not live to complete. In choosing the texts which he edited, he was guided not by their literary interest, but mainly by their value for the purpose of establishing the history and signification of words. "Words, words, words, that is what we want," he said in his inaugural lecture as Todd Professor. Accordingly he selected his texts on two principles. First, they must be such that the meanings of the words could be definitely ascertained. He held with Aristotle that we must begin from what we know, and proceed from the known to the unknown. Secondly, he intended to study examples representative of different periods of the language, and of different departments of literature. The two works which he edited in the Todd Lecture Series, the Homilies and Passions from the Leabhar Breac (1887), and Keating's Three Shafts of Death (1890), were intended to represent two periods of that ecclesiastical literature which occupies so important a place in Irish Mss. of all ages. The Glossary to the Laws (1901), on which he spent twelve years of toil, was an elaborate and exhaustive study of the legal vocabulary. There is reason to think that he had intended to treat in the same way the special vocabularies of History and Medicine; and he would doubtless have pursued his scheme had health and the span of life permitted.

What he actually achieved is work of the highest value in its kind. In the Glossary to the Passions and Homilies, every word is studied in the utmost detail: not only is each form of every vocable exactly recorded, but even the number of instances where each occurs is registered, so that a single line contains the comparison of a hundred passages. The result is that we obtain a complete view of the usage of the language at a certain period. The edition of the Three Shafts is equally conscientious, though somewhat less laborious, the language of the period studied being in this case much nearer to the modern spoken tongue, and consequently much better understood. In the edition of the Irish Liber Hymnorum (1897) he applied the same method in narrower compass.

But the heaviest toil of Atkinson's life was bestowed on the Ancient Laws of Ireland. This work, which had long been in a condition of suspense, was handed over to him for completion when four volumes had already been issued. The Brehon Laws

Commissioners intended that he should merely edit the fifth volume from materials existing in manuscript which they supposed to be adequate. Atkinson, however, was far from limiting himself to the functions of an editor. The translation of the fifth volume, though based on the materials supplied to him, is, in great measure, his work; and he undertook of his own motion a complete Glossary to the whole corpus. courageous spirit would have recoiled. The language of the Laws is the despair of Irish scholarship. It has long ago been shown by Dr. Stokes and other competent judges that the translation of the first four volumes is everywhere conjectural and untrustworthy, and that it is founded on documents which have not undergone me necessary preliminary criticism. Nowhere is there solid ground. text is corrupt: the translation is often mere guess-work. Into this morass Atkinson ventured, and laid in it at least the first foundations of a scientific treatment. He himself never believed nor claimed that his work could be regarded as final, or that he had cleared up more than a fraction of the difficulties with which the whole subject is overgrown. Some of the most sagacious among Irish scholars have gonpted whether the riddle of the I'mas mill ever pe read, whether the data necessary for a solution are present or can be The usus necessary for a solution is ever reached, it is safe to predict

But at all events, if a solution is ever reached, it is safe to predict that it will be largely based on Atkinson's work. In his Glossary of nearly 800 pages he has applied his usual method, examining every word and form found in the five volumes, and comparing every word and form found in the word where cach occurs. Here, as always, he thought no pains instance where too great until the exact facts could be determined as completely as In his shorter papers, such as his essay on Irish metric, and his

monographs on grammatical subjects, there is the same scientific possible. eternal fact, was a phrase he never tired of repeating; and it w spirit, the same profusion of labour. through the patient study of facts that he continually strove to res generalities nor in fanciful speculation. the truth, at the cost of an unremitting labour that seemed alm slavish: a lubour that strengthened mind and will, but overtaxed body, until first his eyesight, and then, by a gradual decay, his be health, gave way under the strain.

APPENDIX:

Being a List of Dr. Atkinson's Publications.

I. Contributions to "Proceedings."

- March 15th, 1890. On the Use of Two Inflexional Forms of the Verb in Irish. 3rd Ser. Vol. i., pp. 416-439.
- May 8th, 1893. On Professor Rossi's Publication of South Coptic Texts. 3rd Ser. Vol. iii., pp. 24-99.
- Nov. 13th, 1893. . On South Coptic Texts. No. II. A Criticism on M. Bouriant's "Éloges de Martyr Victor, Fils de Romanus." 3rd Ser. Vol. iii., pp. 225-284.
- May 25th, 1891. On the Function of the Subjunctive Mood in Irish. 3rd Ser. Vol. iii., pp. 428-440.
- April 9th, 1894. On the Use of the Subjunctive Mood in Welsh.

 3rd Ser. Vol. iii., pp. 459-478.
- Feb. 28th, 1906. On the Function of an Academy, in especial of the Royal Irish Academy: An Address delivered to the Academy. Vol. xxvi., Section C., pp. 44-54.

II. Published Works.

- 1. Vie de Seint Auban: A Poem in Norman-French, ascribed to Matthew Paris. Now for the first time edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with Concordance, Glossary, and Notes. London (John Murray), 1876.
- 2. The Book of Leinster; sometimes called the Book of Glendalough: A Collection of Pieces (Prose and Verse) in the Irish Language. Compiled in part about the middle of the twelfth century. Now for the first time published from the original in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, by the Royal Irish Academy. With Analysis of Contents and Index. Dublin, 1880.
- 3. The Book of Ballymote: A Collection of Pieces (Prose and Verse) in the Irish Language. Compiled about the beginning of the

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fifteenth century. Now for the first time published from the original Manuscript in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, by the Royal Irish Academy. With Introduction, Analysis of Contents, and Index. Dublin, 1887.

- 4. The Yellow Book of Lecan: A Collection of Pieces (Prose and Verse) in the Irish Language. In part compiled at the end of the fourteenth century. Now for the first time published from the original Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, for the Royal Irish Academy. With Introduction, Analysis of Contents, and Index. Dublin, 1896.
- 5. (In collaboration with Dean Bernard.) The Irish Liber Hymnorum, edited from the Mss. With Translations, Notes, and Glossary. 2 vols. Vol. i.: Text and Introduction. Vol. ii.: Translation and Notes. (Henry Bradshaw Society's Publications, vols. xiii., xiv.) London, 1898.
- 6. Ancient Laws of Ireland. Updacect becc, and certain other selected Brehon Law Tracts. Published under the direction of the Commissioners for Publishing Ancient Laws and Institutes. Vol. v. Dublin, 1901.
- 7. The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhap Opeac. Text, Translation, and Glossary, with an Introductory Lecture on Irish Lexicography. Todd Lecture Series. Vol. ii. Dublin: Part I., 1885; Part II., 1887.
- 8. Cpi biop-facite an Ödip ("The Three Shafts of Death"). By Rev. Geoffrey Keating. The Irish Text edited with Glossary and Appendix. *Irish Manuscript Series*. Vol. ii. Part i. Dublin, 1809.

III. Occasional Publications.

- 1. The Italian Language: an Introductory Lecture. Dublin, 1868.
- 2. The Proposed New Charter of the Royal Dublin Society. New Wine in Old Bottles, or Science and the Society. Dublin, 1883.
- 3. On Irish Metric: an Inaugural Lecture on Celtic Philology, delivered March 11th, 1884, in Trinity College, Dublin. Dublin, 1884.
- 4. The Proposed New By-laws of the Royal Dublin Society. "By-law Fellows." Dublin, 1889.

IV. Contributions to Hermathena.

- 1. Strictures on Mr. Quaid's Edition of a French Poem on the Life of Edward the Confessor. Vol. i., pp. 1-81.
- 2. Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages. Vol. ii., pp. 60-106.
- 3. The Legend of Igoe's Raid: an old Russian song of the twelfth century. Vol. iii., pp. 92-124.
- 4. An Emendation (being a correction of a passage in Schmid's "Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen"). Vol. iv., pp. 37-38.
 - 5. Celtica. *Ib.*, pp. 73-80.
 - 6. Note on Brehon Laws. 1b., pp. 80-81.

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ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

HISTORY.

[Lists of Papers on other subjects-scientific, literary, and archæological-may be obtained on application.]

- ATKINSON (R.): On the Function of an Academy, in especial of the Royal Irish Academy. 1906. pp. 11. 8vo. 6d.
- BERNARD (J. H.): Uncial MS. of S. Cyril of Alexandria, written on Papyrus. 1892. pp. 20. 4 plates. 4to. 6s.
- Bernard (J. H.): Calendar of Documents in the Dignitas Decani in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. 1905. pp. 27. Svo. 6d.
- BERRY (H. F.): An unpublished MS. Inquisition (A.D. 1258), relating to the Dublin City Watercourse. 1902, pp. 8, 8vo. 1s.
- BERRY (H. F.): Gild of S. Anne, S. Audoen's Church, Dublin. 1904 pp. 86. 1 plate. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- BERRY (H. F.); Ancient Charters in the Liber Albus Ossoriensis 1908. pp. 11. 8vo. 6d.
- Bibliography, Irish. By Sir J. T. GILBERT. Edited by E. R. M.C. DIX. 1904. pp. 26. Plate and illustrations. 8vo. 1s.
- BURY (J. B.): A Life of S. Patrick (Colgan's Tertia Vita). 1903. pp. 64. 4to. 2s.
- BURY (J. B.): Itinerary of Patrick in Connaught according to Tírechán. 1903. pp. 16. 8vo. 6d.
- DIX (E. R. M.C.), editor of GILBERT: Irish Bibliography. 1904. pp. 26.
 1 plate. Illustrations. 8vo. 1s.
- Dublin: Commercial History of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century. By C. L. FALKINER. 1903. pp. 30. 4 plates. 8vo. 6d.
- Dublin: Gild of S. Anne, S. Audoen's Church, Dublin. By H. F. BERRY. 1904. pp. 86. 1 plate. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- Dublin City Watercourse: An unpublished MS, Inquisition (A.D. 1258).
 By H. F. Berry. 1902. pp. 8. 8vo. 1s.
- FALKINER (C. L.): Phoenix Park, Dublin: its Origin and History. 1901. pp. 24. 8vo. 5s.
- FALKINER (C. L.): The Irish Guards, 1661-1798. 1902. pp. 23-8vo. 1s.
- FALKINER (C. L.): Commercial History of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century. 1903. pp. 30. 4 plates. 8vo. 6d.
- FALKINER (C. L.): The Counties of Ireland: their Origin, Constitution, and Delimitation. 1903. pp. 26. 8vo. 2s. 10d.
- FALKINER (C. L.): The Parliament of Ireland under the Tudor Sovereigns. 1905. pp. 34. 8vo. 6d.
- FALKINER (C. L.): Barnaby Rich's "Remembrances of the state of Ireland, 1612," with notices of other Reports by the same writer, 1906. pp. 18. 8vo. 6d.
- FALKINER (C. L.): The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland. 1907. pp. 43. 8vo. 18.

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